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HOME STUDY HISTORICAL SERIES

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

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VOLUME THREE

ANCIENT HISTORY

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MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

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METHODS IN HISTORY

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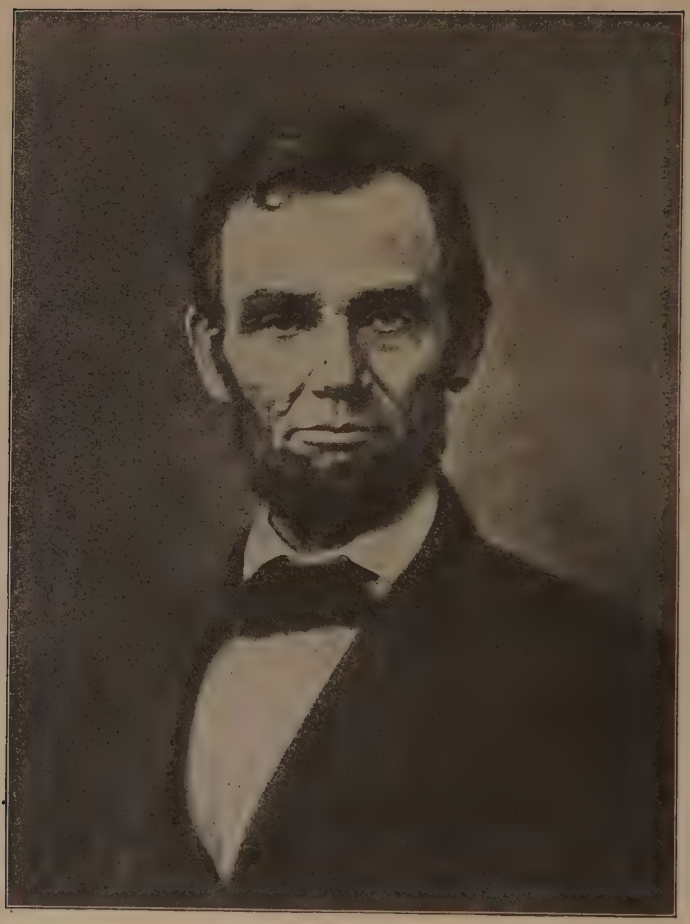

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
[From a photograph from life.]

PART ONE

SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR

1860-1865

PART ONE

SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR

CHAPTER I

THE UNION DIVIDED

1860-1861

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—Study of political events narrated in previous chapters discloses the gradual but steady approach of a national crisis. In the study of this chapter, thoughtfully estimate the conditions and opinions of the opposing parties. For this purpose, an acquaintance with the latest works upon the subject is essential. Most of those written at the time of the Civil War or immediately afterward are strongly partisan, and are interesting chiefly as vigorous statements of one or the other view. The North and the South were equally patriotic from their respective points of view, and the fair-minded student should never lose sight of the fact that each party was contending for principles which it sincerely believed were right.

Weigh carefully the constitutional doctrines as set forth by Stephens and Webster, and if necessary refer to the Constitution to verify their statements. Compare the views of secession advanced in 1860 with those of 1812-1815. Notice the causes that had nationalized the free states, and see why they had failed to produce the same results in the slave states.

This chapter also affords an excellent opportunity to study the powers and limitations connected with the presidential office. Had a man like Jackson been in Buchanan's place, what would have been the probable result? How would later events have been altered if Lincoln's inauguration had occurred in December?

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502. The Political Situation.—The political situation following the election of 1860 caused the leaders of all parties the gravest concern. The presidential vote had

been cast almost wholly along sectional lines, and the successful candidate had received nearly a million less than a majority of the popular vote; indeed, he had received less than a majority of the votes in the states which never joined the Confederacy. Moreover, it was to be four months before the administration of the government would pass to his control, and during this interval the direction of national affairs would be in the hands of the Breckenridge wing of the Democrats, with whom Mr. Buchanan and his followers sympathized. Of all parties, this faction most bitterly opposed the Republicans. The Senate was strongly Democratic and was under the control of Southern leaders.

As previously noted, during the campaign the Breckenridge Democrats had openly declared, both in and out of Congress, that the election of Lincoln would lead to the withdrawal of the Southern states from the Union. By the great majority of the people, of both North and South, this was considered as campaign talk and was not taken seriously. But the public did not understand the plans and purposes of the Southern leaders. Three members of the cabinet, John B. Floyd of Virginia, secretary of war, Howell Cobb of Georgia, secretary of the treasury, and Jacob Thompson of Mississippi, secretary of the interior, were ardent promoters of secession and for months had been using the powers conferred upon them by their official positions to prepare the Southern states for the movement.

The President's sympathies were also with the South, but the election had shown that the principles for which he stood were far from acceptable to the people. Of the three million eight hundred thousand votes cast, the Breckenridge Democrats received less than eight hundred fifty thousand. However, Buchanan seemed deaf to public opinion, and in his annual message to Congress, which assembled the first Monday in December, he upbraided the North for existing conditions and declared that, while he did not believe a state had the right to withdraw from the Union, the Constitution did not confer upon the Federal government the right to prevent such withdrawal, or to force back into the Union any state that had seceded. In other words, the Federal government could not coerce a state. The message received much adverse criticism in the North, but it was universally accepted in the South. From its tone the

JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE
[After an old engraving.]

Southern leaders saw that they would receive no opposition from the administration, and they decided to improve the time remaining before Lincoln's inauguration.

503. Secession. — In contemplating their withdrawal from the Union, the Southern states were not entertaining a new idea. Secession was implied in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (1798–1799) (Section 348); it was contemplated by the Federalists of New England and New York during Jefferson's first term; it was openly advocated by the New England states during the War of 1812, and was again brought prominently forward by the Nullification Ordinance of South Carolina, in 1832.

Previous to the nullification episode the doctrine had received but little attention from the national government. At that time President Jackson received the unanimous support of the Northern states and was upheld, also, by the South in the strong position which he took against nullification. After the Hartford Convention (Section 424), the subject was seldom broached in the Northern states, where the idea of national sovereignty soon entirely replaced that of state sovereignty. However, in the South the belief in the sovereignty of the state was still strong, and it was the conflict between this doctrine and the doctrine of nationality, intensified by the slavery question, that caused the Civil War.

504. The View-point of the Secessionists.—The advocates of secession claimed that the Federal government was founded upon a compact between the states and that

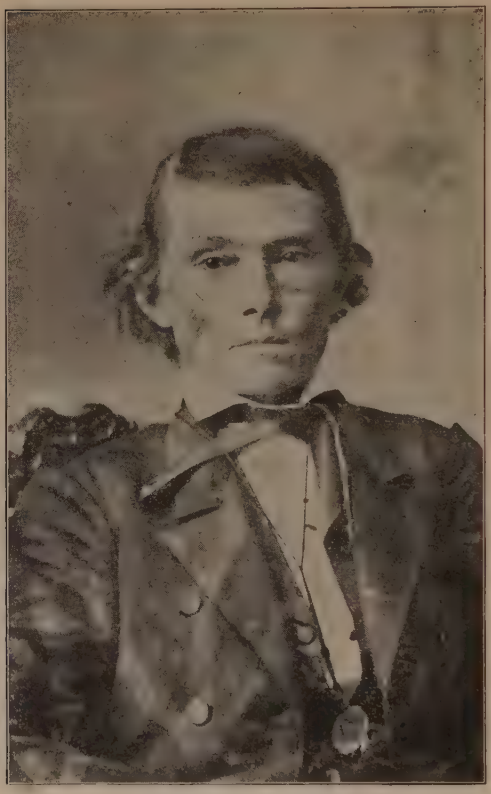
any state had the right to withdraw from this compact whenever its citizens should so decide. "If this were not true," they asked, "why did the Constitution provide that when nine states had adopted it, that instrument should become the supreme law *between the states so adopting it*?" To them it was the Constitution of the *United States*, not the Constitution of the *people of the United States*.

"There never was any political union between the people of the several states of the United States, except such as resulted indirectly from the terms of agreement or compact entered into by separate and distinct political bodies. The first Union so formed, from which the present Union arose, was that of the colonies in 1774. . . . These were distinct and separate political organizations, or bodies. After that the Union of States was formed under the Articles of Confederation, in 1777; and then, the modifications of the terms of this Union by the new Compact of 1787, known as the present Constitution. . . . Subsequently, twenty new members were admitted into the association, on an equal footing with those first forming it. Whatever intimate relationships, therefore, existed between the citizens of the respective thirty-three states constituting the Union in 1860, they were created by, or sprung from, the terms of the Compact of 1787, by which the original states, as states, were united. These terms were properly called the Constitution of the United States; not the Constitution of one people as one society or one nation, but the Constitution of a number of separate and distinct peoples, or political bodies, known as states. The absolute sovereignty of these original states, respectively, was never parted with by them in that or any other compact of union ever entered into by them."[1]

The advocates of state sovereignty also claimed that the Union should never be considered as an unalterable fact, and that the federal principle in government had only temporary value.

[1] Alexander H. Stephens, *The War Between the States*, vol. i,

"There is nothing of political philosophy more plainly taught in history than the limited value of the federal principle. . . . It is not to be denied that the federal principle is valuable in peculiar circumstances and for peculiar ends, but it is essentially not permanent and all attempts to make it so, though marked for certain periods by fictitious prosperity and sudden evidences of material activity and progress, have ultimately resulted in intestine commotions and the extinction of the form of government."[1]



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS
[From a photograph from life, now in the collection of H. W. Fay.]

The same writer acknowledged the value of the Union during the early period of the nation's existence, but believed that it had outlived its usefulness:

"There could be no mistake about its [the Union's] early mission, and no intelligent man in America dared to refer to the Union without acknowledging the country's indebtedness to it in the past. . . . The

[1] Pollard, *The Lost Cause.*

party that insisted at a certain period that the interests of the Southern states demanded a separate and independent government simply held the doctrine that the country had outlived the necessities of the Union and had become involved in the abuses of a system admirable enough in its early conception but diverted from its original objects and now existing only as the portion of intolerable rivalries and the source of constant intestine commotions." [1]

Holding these doctrines as fundamental, the Southern states did not consider their withdrawal from the Union a political crime or even a movement that the Federal government could by constitutional right prevent. The use of force to coerce a state therefore constituted in their minds an unwarranted act of tyranny.

505. The View-point of the Unionists.—In his *Reply to Hayne* (Section 453, 2) Webster thus states the Unionists' idea of the origin of the Constitution and of the relation of the Federal government to the states:

"It is, sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government, made by the people and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared this Constitution to be their supreme law. . . . The states are unquestionably sovereign so far as their sovereignty is not affected by this supreme law, but state legislatures as political bodies, however sovereign, are naturally not sovereign over the people."

He then goes on to prove the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws made under it, by quoting the following passages:

"The Constitution and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, . . . anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." [2]

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[1] Pollard, *The Lost Cause.*

[2] Constitution, Art. IV, Clause 2.

"The judiciary power [of the United States] shall extend to all cases arising under the Constitution and the laws of the United States." [1]

Webster then adds that with these provisions of the Constitution the Federal Union is a government, but without them it is a confederacy.

506. Growth of Union Sentiment in the North. — After the War of 1812 the views set forth by Webster continued to gain strength in all the free states. The principal causes contributing to this growth of opinion were:

(1) *The Increase of Territory.*—Since all of the original states were founded upon charters obtained separately from the British government, it was not surprising that many of them considered themselves distinct political units and looked upon the Union at first as an experiment. But from the very beginning the new Union found itself possessed of a public domain, composed of lands which had been ceded by the different states to the United States. While these lands had been obtained through the charters granted the original states, and not at the expense of the Federal government, the territory acquired belonged to and was administered by the nation. The additions to the public domain which were made after the adoption of the Constitution were not received through the states, but through actual purchase by the United States. The extension of the public domain, therefore, in every case strengthened the federal principle in the government.

[1] Constitution, Art. III, Sec. 2, Clause 1.

(2) *New States.*—Those who settled in the territories came immediately under the jurisdiction of the Federal government, and had no excuse to question its authority. When these territories were admitted as states, their inhabitants felt that they entered into still closer relations with the government, though in so doing they took to themselves more privileges in the management of their local affairs. Hence, in the new states, the national idea was dominant.

A NEGRO HOME
Typical of thousands of cabins throughout the South.

(3) *Means of Communication.*—At the adoption of the Constitution roads were poor, mails infrequent and newspapers few and unsatisfactory. The sections of country widely separated were strongly prejudiced against each other and in each local sentiments, traditions and laws were supreme. As means of communication improved and people acquired a better knowledge of the different parts of the country, these barriers of prejudice were gradually removed. The steamboat, the railroad and the telegraph were most influential in bringing about this change; they were extended so rapidly over the

country that by 1860 every section was acquainted with the resources, industries, habits and customs of every other section. This increase of knowledge broadened the political horizon of the average American citizen and led him to think more of the glory and importance of the nation than of the prerogatives of his state.

(4) *The Industrial System in the Free States.* — The settlement of the West made possible an interchange of products between the new states and the old; before 1860 this had grown into one of the largest systems of inland commerce in the world. In the development of manufacturing and commercial interests the people of the new states made use of the advantages which the Federal government conferred upon them in the form of tariffs. In extending their industries into new territory, promoters were compelled to become largely dependent upon the Federal government, which, after 1844, began to assist inland commerce by the construction of canals, the improvement of harbors and other important public works. Therefore, the industrial classes everywhere except in the South were strong believers in the supremacy of the national government, rather than in that of the state.

(5) *Immigration.* — The influence of the immigration of foreigners, while of less importance in 1860 than in 1906, was entirely in favor of the idea of the supremacy of the nation. Immigrants settled in the free states and became, first of all, citizens of the United States. They considered

that their allegiance to the national government far outweighed their allegiance to the state in which they lived. These people had gone in large numbers to the new states of the West, where they formed such a proportion of the population as often to hold the balance of power in elections.

507. The Crisis Precipitated.—The differences in sentiment between the North and the South were increased and emphasized by their fundamental disagreement upon the subject of slavery. As Mr. Lincoln said in a letter to Alexander H. Stephens, soon after the election of 1860:

"You think slavery is right and ought to be extended, while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That, I suppose, is the real—it certainly is the substantial—difference between us."

ROBERT TOOMBS

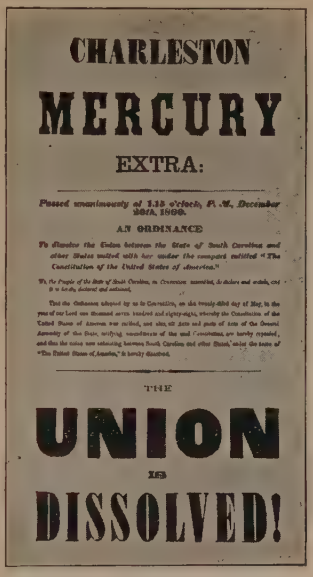
In the South there was a nearly universal belief that the Republican administration would directly or indirectly interfere with slavery in the states. Such a belief was without foundation, for both branches of Congress were

Democratic, the majority of the Supreme Court was in sympathy with the slaveholding faction and the incoming administration could not even appoint a cabinet which a Democratic Senate did not approve. Had President Lincoln so desired, he could not have secured the passage of laws interfering with slavery in states where it existed. But he never contemplated such a measure. In his letter to Stephens referred to above, he says upon this subject:

"Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would directly or indirectly interfere with the slaves or with them about their slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, that there is no cause for such fear. The South would be in no more danger in this respect than it was in the days of Washington."

But the advocates of disunion skilfully used Lincoln's election as the occasion by which to secure immediate action. Chief among these leaders were Jefferson Davis, Howell Cobb, Robert Toombs, John C. Breckenridge, Governor Gist of South Carolina and Francis Henry Pickens, who became governor of that state in 1861. Strongly opposed to these leaders were Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, by far the ablest of the Southern statesmen, and a few others. Stephens did not oppose secession because he thought it wrong, but because he considered it inexpedient. He knew that the Republican party could not interfere with slavery, and he believed that the South could obtain better terms in the Union than out of it.

508. South Carolina.—South Carolina was the only state in which the presidential electors were chosen by the legislature. Her legislature was called in extra session for this purpose on November 5, and continued in session until after the results of the election were known. The legislature then passed an act authorizing the expenditure of one hundred thousand dollars for the purchase of small arms, and another act calling a state convention, which it was generally understood would pass an ordinance of secession.


CHARLESTON

MERCURY

EXTRA:

Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December 20th, 1860.

AN ORDINANCE

To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and that the union now existing between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

THE

UNION

IS

DISSOLVED!

CHARLESTON MERCURY EXTRA
A handbill printed by the Charleston *Mercury* on the day on which the South Carolina convention passed the Ordinance of Secession.

The convention assembled at Columbia, December 17, and on the 20th passed the following ordinance:

"We, the people of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained:

"That the ordinance adopted by us in convention on the twenty-third day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified; and also by acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this state ratifying amendments to said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and that the union now existing between South Carolina and the other states under the name of 'The United States of America' is hereby dissolved."

509. Other States.—More than a month before the national election, Governor Gist of South Carolina had sent a secret letter to the governors of each of the other slave states, asking if those states would coöperate with South Carolina in her contemplated movement of secession. To most of these letters he received encouraging replies, and within a few weeks six other states had followed South Carolina in passing ordinances of secession.[1] In Georgia the movement was openly and strenuously opposed by a small minority under the leadership of Alexander H. Stephens, who in the secession convention made one of the strongest speeches of his entire career. He foresaw, in a measure at least, the results of disunion, and feared the outcome. Among other things, Mr. Stephens said:

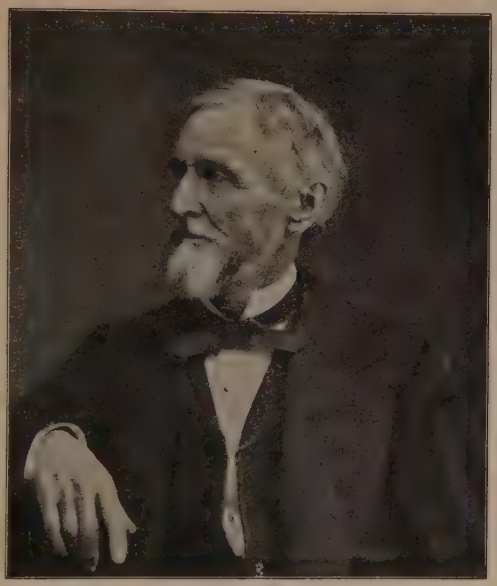
"I look upon this country, with our institutions, as the Eden of the world, the paradise of the universe. It may be that out of it we may become greater and more prosperous, but I am candid and sincere in telling you that I fear if we yield to passion, and without sufficient cause shall take that step, that instead of becoming greater or more peaceful, prosperous and happy, instead of becoming gods we will become demons, and at no distant date commence cutting one another's throats. This is my apprehension. Let us, therefore, whatever we do, meet these questions, great as they are, like wise and sensible men, and consider them in the light of all the consequences which may attend our action. Let us see first, clearly, where the path of duty leads, and then we may not fear to tread therein."

But regardless of Mr. Stephens's eloquent appeal, Georgia voted almost unanimously to secede, and his loy-

[1] The states withdrew from the Union in the following order: South Carolina, December 20, 1860; Mississippi, January 9, 1861; Florida, January 10; Alabama, January 11; Georgia, January 18; Louisiana, January 26; Texas, February 1.

alty to principle and love for his state was such that he adhered to her and lent his support to the Confederacy.

510. The Confederacy Organized.—Delegates from the seceding states met at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, and proceeded to organize a government, which they styled the *Confederate States of America.* A provisional government was first adopted, and this was afterwards superseded by a Constitution modeled upon that of the United States.



JEFFERSON DAVIS
[From a photograph taken after the war.]

The Constitution differed from that of the United States in the following important particulars: The president and vice-president were elected for a term of six years, and the president was ineligible to succeed himself; the members of the cabinet were given seats in either branch of the Congress, with the privilege of discussing measures pertaining to their respective offices;

protective tariffs were prohibited; slavery was sanctioned, and provisions were made for its extension into any territory that might be acquired, but the introduction of slaves from any foreign country except slave states

RESIDENCE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS, MONTGOMERY
The executive mansion of the Confederacy until the removal of the capital from Montgomery, Ala., to Richmond, Va., in July, 1861.

of the United States was prohibited, and even this could be forbidden by congress. By this provision, the Confederacy sought to win the respect of those nations of Europe who no longer favored the slave trade.

The Constitution distinctly stated that the states adopting it did so as independent organizations. In other words, the doctrine of state sovereignty was fully recognized in the

compact. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected president and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia vice-president for one year. The following autumn they were elected by vote for the term of six years. The cabinet selected by Mr. Davis consisted of Robert Toombs of Georgia, secretary of state; Charles G. Memminger of South Carolina, secretary of the treasury; Leroy P. Walker of Alabama, secretary of war; Stephen R. Mallory of Florida, secretary of the navy; Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, attorney-general; John H. Reagan of Texas, postmaster-general.

511. Public Opinion in the North.—In the free states, the public was divided into three classes as to its views of the approaching crisis. There were those who believed in opposing secession and compelling the South to acquiesce in the result of the election—this view was held by a majority of the Republicans; there were those who believed that the South should be allowed to secede in peace—this party was led by Greeley and Beecher; finally, there were those who believed in compromise, in order to save the Union and still maintain peace—the chief spokesmen of this last idea were Thurlow Weed of the Republicans and Stephen A. Douglas of the Democrats. At first the last two classes, together known as the Peace Party, probably included a majority of the people. The representatives of those who, to save the Union would, if necessary, precipitate war, had just been chosen to office. Under these conditions, President Buchanan, believing that he represented a majority of the people, was partly justified in

not attempting to coerce the seceding states. However, to continue in office those whom he knew to be in active sympathy with disunion was not creditable to his foresight and honesty as a statesman.

512. Attempts at Compromise.—As soon as Congress assembled attempts were made to compromise on all differences and to pacify the South. Most of these efforts were supported by a majority of the Northern Democrats and by a few Republicans, but they received little attention from Southern congressmen, most of whom were anxious for secession and were unwilling to accept any proposals looking toward the restoration of the Union.

The most important of these compromise measures was offered by John J. Crittenden of Kentucky and is generally known as the Crittenden Compromise. This was in the form of an amendment to the Constitution, and provided for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific; the removal from Congress of all power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; the prohibition of any future amendment to the Constitution which should in any way give Congress power to interfere with slavery in any state by whose laws it was or might be allowed. These, with a few minor provisions, conferred upon the slave-holding states all the concessions they could possibly ask. And had the Southern members of Congress guaranteed that the adoption of the amendment would have restored peace and harmony, the measure would undoubtedly have passed. But there was a general feeling that it

would not restore the Union. Moreover, before the measure came to a vote in Congress, a number of states had already seceded, their members had withdrawn from Congress and had shown no disposition toward conciliation by any means or in any form. The proposals of the Crittenden Compromise were in direct opposition to the principles of the Republican party, and were rejected through the union of the Republicans and some Northern Democrats.

513. Cabinet Changes.—Soon after President Buchanan's message to Congress, General Cass of Michigan, secretary of state, resigned, because he had come to feel that he could not, in justice to himself or to his state, longer continue to uphold Mr. Buchanan in his attitude toward the seceding states. Cass was succeeded by Judge Black of Pennsylvania, who had been attorney-general during Mr. Buchanan's term of office. The change in position brought to Judge Black a change of view. It was he who had prepared and supported that part of the president's message dealing with the South and secession, but he now became a strong defender of the Union. Cobb, Floyd and Thompson, after serving the South as far as they were able in their official capacity, resigned to continue the work of disunion in their respective states. Edwin M. Stanton became attorney-general, Joseph Holt was appointed secretary of war and John A. Dix of New York, secretary of the treasury. These were all strong Union men, and under their influence the attitude of the administration was radically changed. Dix is remem-

bered to this day for his famous message to the treasury agent at New Orleans, commanding him to take charge of the revenue cutter at that port, and ending with the order, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." The work of the new cabinet increased confidence in the government throughout the free states, and strengthened the sentiment in favor of maintaining the Union.

514. The United States Forts and Arsenals.—During his administration Secretary Floyd had stocked the forts

FORT JEFFERSON, FLORIDA
Fortress at Dry Tortugas, Florida, retained by the Union in 1861 and used as a military prison.

and arsenals in the South with arms and munitions of war, and as fast as the states seceded they took possession of the United States forts and arsenals within their boundaries. In most instances the custodians were in sympathy with secession and offered no opposition. Before Lincoln's inauguration nearly thirty

forts and over three thousand guns, costing upwards of twenty millions of dollars, together with the navy yard at Pensacola with all of its supplies, had been seized by the Confederates. With the revenue cutters, arms, ammuniton, mints and subtreasury buildings in the Southern states, government property probably worth thirty million dollars was seized before Buchanan went out of office. Before hostilities began, the arsenals and military stores of Harper's Ferry and the navy yard at Norfolk passed to the hands of the Confederates.

Fort Pickens in the harbor of Pensacola, Fort Jefferson on Dry Tortugas and Fort Taylor on Key West were saved by the gallantry and determination of their commanding officers.

515. Charleston Harbor.—When South Carolina seceded, the fortifications in Charleston harbor, consisting of Forts Moultrie and Sumter and Castle Pinckney, were in charge of Major Robert Anderson and a small garrison. Both Moultrie and Sumter were decidedly out of repair and Castle Pinckney needed strengthening. General Scott, then commander of the military forces of the United States, had previously urged upon the President the necessity of reënforcing the garrison in these forts and also of sending additional supplies. But Secretary Floyd took good care that these suggestions should not be heeded, assuring the President that any attempt to reënforce the garrison under Major Anderson would provoke South Carolina to an attack upon the forts. Floyd, without the

knowledge of the President or General Scott, issued an order to Major Anderson, which, in substance, forbade him to do anything to check the Southern movement or to strengthen himself against attack.

After the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, Governor Pickens of South Carolina sent commissioners to Washington to negotiate for the surrender of these forts.

FORT SUMTER IN 1861

On the evening of December 26, the day on which the commissioners arrived in Washington, Major Anderson, for greater safety, removed his garrison and supplies from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, spiking the guns and burning the carriages in the former, so that these could not be used against Fort Sumter. When the news of this removal reached Washington, Secretary Floyd protested against it, and he nearly persuaded the President to order the troops to return to Fort Moultrie. In this, however, he was defeated by Secretary Black and Attorney-General Stanton, and he was forced through their opposition to leave the cabinet the following day. On December 31 the South Carolina commissioners received a curt refusal to their demand and departed for Charleston.

By this time the South Carolina militia, by order of Governor Pickens, had taken possession of Fort Moultrie, Castle Pinckney and the custom house, arsenal and post-

office at Charleston. On January 5, 1861, the government dispached the steamer *Star of the West* with provisions, supplies and two hundred fifty men for the purpose of reënforcing the garrison at Fort Sumter. It was intended that the expedition should be secret, but word of the steamer's departure was at once telegraphed to Charleston, and when, on the ninth, she appeared at the entrance of the harbor, she was fired upon from a battery on Morris Island and compelled to return. No further attempt was made to reënforce the garrison during the remainder of Buchanan's term of office.

516. The Peace Congress.—On February 4, 1861, delegates from twenty-one states met in Washington in a so-styled "Peace Congress." This was only another futile attempt at compromise. The Northern states which were represented sent their most conservative men; six of the free states did not respond to the call,[1] and the seceding states refused to send delegates, stating that they were foreign nations. Ex-President Tyler was elected president of the congress. After a lengthy discussion, a report[2] was sent to Congress, but was not opened by the House, and failed of adoption in the Senate by a vote of seven to twenty-eight.

517. Lincoln's Inauguration.—1. The Journey to Washington.—On the eleventh of February, Mr. Lincoln

[1] The states declining to send delegates were Arkansas, California, Michigan, Minnesota, Oregon and Wisconsin.

[2] This report urged the adoption of a constitutional amendment prohibiting the slave trade and all slavery north of 36°30′, forbidding the passage of laws freeing slaves while in free states, or interfering with slavery in the South.

bade his friends and neighbors farewell and started on his journey to Washington.[1] His brief farewell address, delivered from the rear platform of the train, seems almost prophetic in view of the events that followed:

"My friends, no one not in my station can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place and the kindness of these people I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me and remain with you and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

The party made the trip by easy stages, stopping at a number of cities where Mr. Lincoln delivered addresses and received enthusiastic welcomes. Before the journey began, rumors were circulated that the president-elect would be assassinated while en route to the capital. A careful investigation revealed so strong a probability that these rumors were well-founded that Mr. Lincoln made the journey from Harrisburg to Washington in secret, arriving at his destination early on the morning of February 23, some hours before he was expected.

2. The Inauguration Ceremonies.—In view of the public agitation, General Scott assembled a sufficient

[1] The presidential party consisted of Mr. Lincoln and his family, his secretaries, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Hon. David Davis, Hon. N. B. Judd, Colonel E. V. Sumner, Captain George W. Hazard, Captain John Pope, Colonel Ward H. Lamon and a number of other influential citizens and friends.

military force in Washington to prevent a possibility of disorder. At noon on March 4, President Buchanan, accompanied by the Senate, arrived at Willard's Hotel, where Mr. Lincoln was escorted to the president's carriage, in which he and President Buchanan, surrounded by a strong military escort, drove to the capitol.

EARLY HOME OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

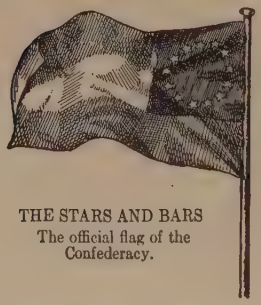
The inauguration ceremonies took place on the east portico, where, in the presence of Congress, the justices of the Supreme Court, members of the diplomatic corps and the assembled populace, Mr. Lincoln delivered his inaugural address. The following extract is taken from a description of the scene by an eye-witness:

"In the central group of this inauguration ceremony there confronted each other four historical personages in the final act of a political drama which in its scope, completeness and consequence will bear comparison with those most famous in human record—Senator Douglas, the author of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, representing the legislative power of the American government; Chief Justice Taney, author of the Dred Scott Decision, representing the influence of the judiciary; and President Buchanan, who by his Le-

compton measures and messages had used the whole executive power and patronage to intensify and perpetuate the mischiefs born of the repeal and the dictum. Fourth in the group stood Abraham Lincoln, president-elect, illustrating the vital political truth announced in that sentence in his Cincinnati speech in which he declared: 'The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both congresses and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.'"[1]

On the conclusion of the address the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney, and the ceremony was completed.

Never before had an inaugural address been awaited with so great anxiety or listened to with such eagerness. At the election in November, the issue was slavery; at the inauguration in March, it was disunion. In the first part of the address, Mr. Lincoln restated his position on the slavery question and showed that there was no just cause for alarm on the part of the slave-holding states. He then took a strong position against the withdrawal of any state from the Union, declaring that his constitutional duty compelled him to enforce the laws in all the states. He pleaded with the disaffected states not to commit an act so rash as an attempt to destroy the Union. The entire address was conciliatory and sympathetic, but through it all there was an underlying tone of firmness for the preservation



THE STARS AND BARS
The official flag of the Confederacy.

[1] Nicolay and Hay, *Life of Lincoln.*

of the Union. The last two paragraphs placed fully and clearly upon the seceding states the responsibility for whatever issues might follow from their acts. In words of mingled pleading and warning, Lincoln appealed to the American people to uphold the nation:

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government; while *I* shall have a most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend it.'

I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

3. Buchanan's Retirement. — No president ever laid down his insignia of office more willingly than Mr. Buchanan. Like Franklin Pierce, his elevation to the presidency was his misfortune. While in all his previous positions he had conducted the affairs of the nation with credit and success, he was not a good executive and was by nature ill-fitted to discharge the duties of president during the troublous times just before the war. Instead of wielding the forces at his command for the suppression of disloyalty and the preservation of the Union, he allowed those whom he knew to be disloyal to continue in high positions, and by his vacillating policy gave every advantage to the disunionists.

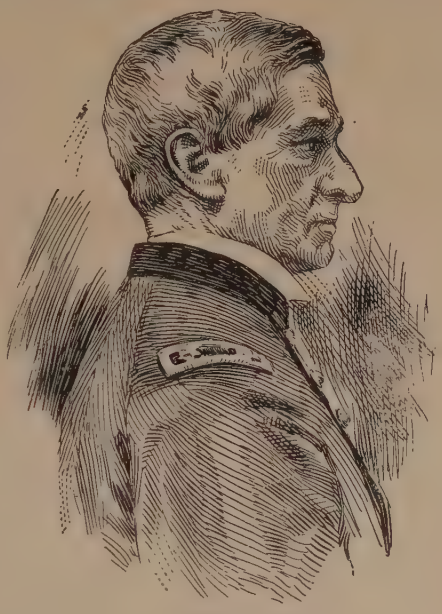
"If Mr. Buchanan had possessed the unconquerable will of Jackson or the stubborn courage of Taylor, he could have changed the history of the revolt against the Union. A great opportunity came to him but he was not equal to it. Always an admirable adviser where prudence and caution were the virtues required, he was fatally wanting in a situation which demanded prompt action and strong nerve. As representative in Congress, as senator, as minister abroad, as secretary of state, his career was honorable and successful. His life was singularly free from personal fault or short-coming. He was honest and pure-minded. His fame would have been more enviable if he had never been elevated to the presidency."[1]

4. The Cabinet.—In the selection of his cabinet, President Lincoln gave representation to the various factions that combined to form the Republican party, and also due recognition to his rivals in the Chicago convention. The cabinet comprised William H. Seward of New York, secretary of state; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, secretary of the treasury; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, secretary of war; Gideon Wells of Connecticut, secretary of the navy; Caleb B. Smith of Indiana, secretary of the interior; Edward Bates of Missouri, attorney-general, and Montgomery Blair of Maryland, postmaster-general. The next year Edwin M. Stanton became secretary of war, which position he held until after the close of the conflict. With the completion of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet the two governments stood face to face.

518. Fall of Fort Sumter.—On the morning following his inauguration, President Lincoln received a report from Major Anderson stating that unless he received supplies the garrison could not hold out over forty days, and that

[1] Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, vol. i.

an army of twenty thousand men would be required successfully to reënforce or supply the fortress. This report astounded even the best informed members of the cabinet, few of whom had before realized the seriousness of the situation confronting the nation. The responsibility for civil war or dishonorable peace was upon them, but they were not dismayed. At a meeting on March 29, a majority of the cabinet voted in favor of sending Major Anderson reënforcements and supplies.

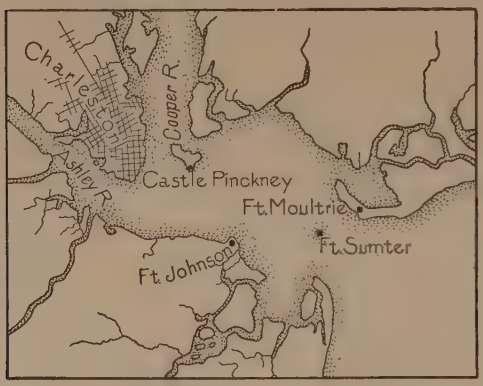


MAJOR ROBERT ANDERSON

An expedition was fitted out at New York, but before it sailed a messenger from Major Anderson arrived in Washington and informed the government that the garrison's supply of food, which it had been accustomed to receive daily from Charleston, had been cut off, and that unless relieved at once, it would be starved into surrendering. He was told that the fort would be provisioned at all hazards. Upon learning of this reply, the Confederate cabinet assembled and ordered General Beauregard to

demand the immediate surrender of the fort, and in case of refusal to reduce it.

On the afternoon of April 11, General Beauregard sent Major Anderson a formal demand to surrender, to which he returned a polite but positive refusal. A second communication was sent, asking Major Anderson when he would evacuate the fort if unmolested. He replied that he would do so on the fifteenth, unless before that time he received supplies or contrary orders. His answer was unsatisfactory and fire was opened on the fort early the following morning. After enduring the bombardment for thirty-four hours, Major Anderson surrendered, on condition that he should salute the flag with fifty guns and that the garrison with all its baggage should march out with the honors of war and embark for the North.



CHARLESTON HARBOR IN 1861

The result of this unequal contest sent a thrill of joy through the South, and at the same time it fired the free states with patriotism. The first gun upon Sumter cleared the air of all doubt and discussion; party lines

at the North for a time disappeared, and President Lincoln found himself at the head of a strong, enthusiastic people, determined to save the Union. "Judged by loss of life, no battle could be more insignificant; not a man on either side was killed. Judged by the train of events which ensued, few contests in our history have been more momentous." [1]

QUESTIONS

Were the views entertained by Mr. Stephens concerning the relation of a state to the Union justified by history? How do these views differ from Webster's?

Why did immigrants shun the slave states? Why should they regard allegiance to the nation as a greater obligation than allegiance to their state?

Why was South Carolina the first state to secede? Why were conventions instead of the legislatures called in the different states to pass the ordinances of secession? Why were the actions of these conventions not referred to the people of their respective states for ratification?

Was the Constitution of the Confederate States in any way better than that of the United States? What are your reasons for so thinking? In what country are cabinet officers allowed to hold seats in the legislative body? What is the effect?

What reasons can you give for President Buchanan's attitude towards the South? Why were Northern statesmen anxious to compromise? Why did the South reject all overtures?

Did Lincoln's inaugural address give the Confederate States any cause for alarm? If so, in what respects?

By reference to the maps on pages 290 and 291 of vol. II, discuss the influence of immigration on political opinion in the North.

REFERENCES

Of the larger works upon the Civil War, the most complete and impartial is Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, of which five volumes have been published. The Century Company's series, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, is exceedingly interesting and authentic throughout. Of those works

[1] Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, vol. iii.

published during or shortly after the struggle, Greeley's *American Conflict*, though now out of print, gives a forceful discussion of the war from the Union standpoint, while Jefferson Davis's *Rise and Fall of the Southern Confederacy*, Pollard's *The Lost Cause* and Alexander H. Stephens's *The War Between the States* are reliable works from the Confederate standpoint. Of the smaller works, Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War* is an exceedingly serviceable discussion of the military movements, and Ropes's *Story of the Civil War*, while giving less space to discussion of military events, gives a more balanced view of the whole controversy. Wilson's *Division and Reunion* (Epochs of American History) also contains a reliable statement of the main facts of the struggle. In the lives of important actors of the period will be found much helpful material.

Among juvenile books, Champlin's *War for the Union*, Charles Carleton Coffin's *Drumbeat of the Nation*, *The Boys of '61* and *Winning His Way* are among the best.

Upon the events discussed in this chapter, consult Rhodes, vol. iii, pp. 114-356; Wilson, pp. 208-219; Channing's *Student's History of the United States*, pp. 497-510, and the following volumes in American Statesmen series: Morse's *Lincoln*, vol. i, pp. 180-254; Lothrop's *Seward*, pp. 220-275; Story's *Sumner*, pp. 178-196; McCall's *Thaddeus Stevens*, pp. 115-135. The speeches quoted in Johnston's *American Orations*, vol. ii, pp. 46-125, and vol. iii, pp. 49-124, will give an interesting insight into the real feelings and interests which animated the leaders on both sides.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Election of Lincoln	Nov., 1860
Secession of South Carolina	Dec. 20, 1860
Crittenden Compromise proposed	1860
Secession of Mississippi; *Star of the West* fired upon by Confederates	Jan. 9, 1861
Secession of Florida	Jan. 10, 1861
Secession of Alabama	Jan. 11, 1861
Secession of Georgia	Jan. 18, 1861
Secession of Louisiana	Jan. 26, 1861
Secession of Texas	Feb. 1, 1861
Organization of the Confederacy; assembly of Peace Congress	Feb. 4, 1861
Inauguration of Lincoln	Mar. 4, 1861
Fall of Fort Sumter	Apr. 13, 1861

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTRY AND THE COMBATANTS

1861

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—Sketch a map of the United States in 1861, showing free states, slave states, territories and public domain still unorganized. Note the geographical advantages of the South, and of the North. Trace upon your map the important railroads and canals then constructed. In what sections were these the most numerous? Compare the newspapers of the North with those of the South in scope and influence. Determine to your own satisfaction why a diversity of industries is essential to the fullest development of a country.

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519. Material Progress.—Let us pause on the verge of the conflict for a brief survey of the industrial and social conditions of the two sections at the opening of the struggle.

1. POPULATION.—In 1860 the population of the United States was 31,443,000 as against 23,200,000 in 1850. In round numbers the free states contained nineteen millions, and the slave states, including the District of Columbia, twelve millions, of which three and a half millions were slaves, thus making the white population in the free states almost three times that of the slave states. Nearly 2,600,000 emigrants arrived during the decade, and practically all of these found homes in the larger cities and in the new states of the West and Northwest; few settled in the South. Cities grew rapidly,

the rate of increase in urban population being more than twice the rate of increase for the entire country.

2. New States.—Three great states, California in 1850, Minnesota in 1858 and Oregon in 1859, had been admitted during the last decade, and the territories of Kansas, Nebraska, Utah and Washington had been organized. People were seeking homes as well as gold on the Pacific coast and this led to a large increase in the population of that region. Between 1840 and 1860 the population of Indiana and Illinois doubled, and that of Michigan and Wisconsin increased from a third of a million to a million and a half. Colonel Fremont had made his extensive explorations of the Rocky Mountain regions, thus opening up that portion of the country to further settlement. This invasion of the great West led to several Indian outbreaks and wars, which for a time stopped the progress of settlement. But these difficulties were all finally

YOSEMITE FALLS, CALIFORNIA

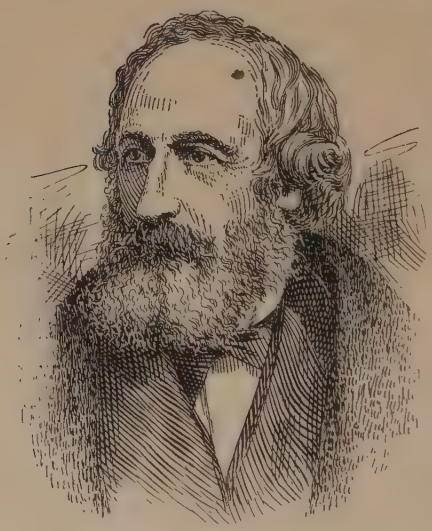
adjusted by the government, and the Indians were placed on reservations, leaving most of the unoccupied territory open to settlers. In 1860 the frontier was practically a north and south line extending along the western borders of Iowa and Missouri. Between these and the Rocky Mountains stretched the Great Plains, as yet unoccupied.

3. Communication.—In 1850, there were nine thousand miles of railway in the country; in 1860, over thirty thousand five hundred miles. The extension of railroads in the West and Northwest was an important factor in the settlement of these fertile regions. As the railways were extended they were also consolidated, connecting lines being formed into great systems. This arrangement simplified transportation of passengers and freight, and reduced operating expenses.

The suspension bridge at Niagara Falls was completed in 1855, the first bridge across the Mississippi was built in the same year at Minneapolis, and the year following the great bridge at Rock Island was opened to traffic. The first railroad out of Chicago and the first in Illinois was built in 1850 and extended to Elgin. Two years later the Michigan Southern was opened, giving the city its first rail connection with the East, and in 1857 it was joined to Saint Louis by rail. By 1856 the Rock Island road extended as far west as Iowa City, and the first railroad had been constructed in California. Before 1860, plans for a trans-continental line were under consideration.

Some canals, begun before the era of railway construction, had been completed. The Miami Canal, between Cincinnati and Toledo, a distance of two hundred fifteen miles, was finished in 1843, and the Wabash and Erie, between Evansville and Toledo, in 1851. Some of the shorter canals in New England had already been abandoned because of railway competition.

The first American line of trans-Atlantic steamers had begun operations in 1850. The steamers of this line and those of its competitor, the Cunard line, were the first vessels constructed for speed and they reduced the time from New York to Liverpool to less than ten days.



CYRUS WEST FIELD

Telegraph lines had continued to multiply, and the Western Union Telegraph Company was organized in 1856 by the consolidation of several smaller companies. Before 1860 the lines of this company extended over all the country east of the Rocky Mountains, and the following year a transcontinental line was completed. The development

of ocean telegraphy received its first great impetus during this decade. The first Atlantic cable was completed in 1858, but in a short time it failed to work. However, through the indomitable energy of Cyrus W. Field, the enterprise was continued until, in 1866, another cable was laid, which proved satisfactory. From that time on, ocean telegraphy has been a commercial success.

In 1860, the number of postoffices was twenty-eight thousand five hundred, having more than doubled in twenty years. The revenues of the postoffice department exceeded eight and one-half million dollars. The railway had extended the mail service to all parts of the country. Postage stamps, first used in England in 1840, were adopted by the United States government in 1847, but the railway postal service in its present form was not introduced until 1862.

4. Wealth.—Between 1850 and 1860 the value of farm lands more than doubled, and the entire wealth of the nation increased one hundred twenty per cent. Manufactures increased nearly seven-eighths, and our exports at the end of the decade were one and three-fourths times as great as at the beginning. The principal causes contributing to this increase in material prosperity were the settlement of the rich agricultural regions of the West; the repeal of the Corn Laws in England, by which that country was opened to the introduction of our agricultural produce free of duty, and the increased facilities of transportation through the completion of

trunk lines of railway. Manufactures in the West were few, but they flourished in all the other free states and were a powerful influence in producing a beneficial diversity of industries. The South still remained a purely agricultural region. Manufactures had not been introduced, and its great mineral wealth was entirely undeveloped. The wealth of the free states was more than double that of the slave states.

In 1857 a serious financial panic occurred, which completely stagnated business for more than a year. Among the causes of this disaster were stock speculation, extravagant living and the issuance of an inflated currency by western banks. But most important of all was the rapid construction of railways by the use of borrowed capital, obtained by the sale of bonds. At first the lines did not earn enough to meet the interest and payments on the bonds when they became due. Insurance companies and other corporations had invested in these bonds and because of the default in payment of interest were unable to meet their obligations. The panic began by the failure of an insurance company in Cincinnati, with liabilities of seven million dollars. This caused a run on the banks there and throughout the West, and they were compelled to suspend specie payments. Many business institutions failed, others barely survived and almost all suffered great losses. Commercial stagnation was due more to fright than to any real lack of capital, and before 1861 business had begun to assume its normal condition.

5. Inventions and Discoveries.—The most important invention of the period was the sewing-machine, constructed by Elias Howe in 1846. The reaper was improved by the addition of a self-rake which laid the grain in gavels for binding. The steam fire engine also came into use and constituted the first important step towards the formation of trained fire departments in large cities.

ELIAS HOWE

Among the most important medical discoveries of all time was the discovery of the use of ether as an anesthetic, in 1846. This was due to three American physicians, Doctors Jackson, Wells and Morton, each working separately and all making the discovery at about the same time.

In 1844 Charles Goodyear discovered the process of vulcanizing rubber, and to that event the rubber industry owes its beginning. Silver was discovered in 1859, in what is now the State of Nevada. The first vein opened

was the celebrated Comstock Lode, from which more than three hundred million dollars' worth of ore was taken during the two following decades. In 1859, the first flowing well yielding petroleum was sunk by Colonel E. L. Drake, near Titusville, Pa. This was the beginning of the petroleum industry, now valued at nearly one hundred million dollars annually.

520. The United States in the Orient.—In 1855 Commodore Perry entered the ports of Japan which for more than two centuries had been closed to civilized nations, and negotiated a treaty of amity and commerce with the "Island Empire." This treaty is of importance, since from it dates the beginning of that movement in Japan that has made her one of the foremost nations of the world, while it also was one of the first indications of America's growing interest in the world's commerce and politics.

MATTHEW CALBRAITH PERRY

521. Education.—In consequence of liberal public land grants for educational purposes, the school systems of many states were rapidly advanced. The foundations of some of the great state universities, such as those of Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, were also laid before 1860. In Massachusetts Horace Mann had secured the establishment of the first normal school by 1840, and the successful work thus initiated led to the establishment of similiar schools in other states, so that before 1860 normal schools were found in nearly all the free states. College attendance continued to increase from year to year, and the industrial and technical schools were receiving attention. In nearly all the higher institutions of learning courses of study were advanced and requirements for admission were raised. In general, the people were becoming well-read and were taking increased interest in science, art and literature.

The lyceum became fully established and lecture and entertainment courses were common in all the larger cities and towns. The American platform during this time was graced by some of the ablest and most cultured orators that have ever appeared in the country. Among them were Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Edward Everett and Henry Ward Beecher. It was also during this decade that the great singers, Jenny Lind and Adelina Patti, first appeared in America, and they were welcomed by thousands.

522. The Press.—In 1860 there were over four thousand newspapers in the country, and the telegraph enabled

the great city dailies to publish each morning and evening the important events of the whole country. Such journals as the New York *Herald,* New York *Tribune* and *Evening Post* and the Springfield *Republican* in the East, and the Chicago *Tribune* and Saint Louis *Globe-Democrat* in the West, exerted a great influence in political affairs. Nearly every small town had its weekly paper.

Periodicals had increased in number and improved in quality. It was in 1853 that George William Curtis began writing his essays from the "Easy Chair" in *Harper's Magazine.* This periodical also brought to its readers the best work of great foreign masters of literature. Before 1860 it had published in serial form Dickens's *Bleak House* and *Little Dorrit,* Thackeray's *The Newcomes* and *The Virginians* and Abbott's *Life of Napoleon. Putnam's Magazine* aimed more particularly at the development of American literature and was a periodical of high order. The *Atlantic Monthly* was established in 1857, and the early association of Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes and James T. Fields with this magazine at once gave it that uplifting influence on American literary life which it still continues to exert.

523. Literature.—In the realm of pure literature this was the culmination of the golden age in America. Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Hawthorne, Lowell and Thoreau reached the acme of their fame at this time, and American historians had also attained high distinction. Bancroft was continuing his *History of the United States;*

Prescott had completed his *Conquest of Mexico* and *Conquest of Peru*, and had published his *Philip the Second*; Parkman had published his *Oregon Trail*, and in 1851 had given to the world the *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, the first volumes in his great series of histories; Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* appeared in 1856.

524. Contrasts.—All sections of the country did not share alike in all lines of prosperity. The social and

A GEORGIA COTTONFIELD
Showing also a typical negro cabin.

industrial distinctions between North and South were becoming ever more marked. The large slaveholders accumulated great fortunes by the sale of their cotton and lived lives of leisure. Culture in the South, while not so high as among the leisure class in England, was of much the same nature; the gentlemen engaged in the chase, horse-racing and other outdoor sports, and took great

pride in their establishments. Their sons were usually educated in Northern colleges. The warm Southern temperament led many young men from Southern plantations to enter the military academy at West Point and the naval academy at Annapolis, and they usually graduated with credit and often with distinction. The cotton states formed a compact territory in which the interests of all were alike; they were united in social and political principles and worked together to defend their ideals and interests.

The free states extended over a much greater territory; their people were engaged in a great variety of industries. The New England states were engaged in manufactures; Pennsylvania, in mining; the West, in agriculture. Politically and industrially each of these sections was influenced —indeed, dominated in spirit and policy—by its local needs, so that at the time the Southern states seceded, the unanimity of sentiment which prevailed in the South was largely lacking in the North. In the free states there was no class devoted to leisure. The men of wealth gave their energies to the management of those industries through which their fortunes had been accumulated. Those who were habitually idle or were devoted to sports were looked down upon by refined society.

From a military point of view, the Confederacy was much the better prepared for war. The forts and arsenals within her borders had been well stocked with arms and the munitions of war; a large proportion of her men had received a military or naval education; in general

UNITED STATES 1861
UNION FREE STATES
UNION SLAVE STATES
CONFEDERATE STATES
TERRITORIES
LIMIT OF TERRITORY CONTROLLED BY CONFEDERACY
SCALE OF MILES.
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Engraved by Rand, McNally & Company for Bellows Brothers Company.
Longitude West from Greenwich.
DOMINION OF CANADA
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
UTAH
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
INDIAN TERRITORY
TEXAS
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
MICHIGAN
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MAINE
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASS.
CONN.
R. I.
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
L. SUPERIOR
L. MICHIGAN
L. HURON
L. ERIE
L. ONTARIO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
CUBA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
OLYMPIA
Fort Benton
SALEM
SALT LAKE CITY
CARSON CITY
SACRAMENTO
San Francisco
DENVER
SANTA FE
TOPEKA
Omaha
DES MOINES
Minneapolis
ST. PAUL
MADISON
Milwaukee
Chicago
LANSING
Detroit
SPRINGFIELD
JEFFERSON CITY
St. Louis
INDIANAPOLIS
Cincinnati
COLUMBUS
FRANKFORT
Louisville
NASHVILLE
Memphis
LITTLE ROCK
JACKSON
Vicksburg
MONTGOMERY
MILLEDGEVILLE
Atlanta
Charleston
Savannah
TALLAHASSEE
Mobile
Jacksonville
AUSTIN
BATON ROUGE
New Orleans
Galveston
RALEIGH
Wilmington
COLUMBIA
HARRISBURG
TRENTON
Philadelphia
Baltimore
WASHINGTON
ANNAPOLIS
RICHMOND
DOVER
ALBANY
MONTPELIER
CONCORD
BOSTON
PROVIDENCE
HARTFORD
NEWPORT
New York
AUGUSTA
UNORGANIZED
Missouri R.
Columbia R.
Snake R.
Colorado R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Rio Grande
St. Lawrence R.
120°
110°
100°
90°
80°
70°
40°
30°
20°

her citizens were more familiar with arms and military affairs than were those of the Union;[1] the Southern leaders had for several years been preparing for the event; in case of conflict, the South would fight upon her own soil for the purpose of repelling invaders.

In the North, the threats of Southern leaders had not been taken very seriously. There was no general belief that the slave states would withdraw from the Union; consequently no preparation had been made to resist such a movement. When the hour of conflict arrived, the Federal government was hampered by divided councils, a diversity of interests in the country, and hesitation and even treachery on the part of those occupying positions of trust and responsibility.

However, in a long conflict, the North had numerous advantages. The Confederacy was dependent upon a single industry and when her ports were closed by blockade and her fields devastated by invading armies, her resources were soon exhausted. The North, with its many industries, its devotion to labor, its fields given over to diversified agriculture, its manufactures of arms and military supplies, its great merchant marine, could withstand siege and press aggressive war almost without end. In wealth and men the Union was also far the stronger and was able to keep its armies and naval equipment complete and effective throughout the war.

[1] In the War of 1812, the South furnished 96,800 soldiers, and the North 58,500. In the Mexican War, the South furnished 43,600 and the North, 23,000.—Pollard, *Southern History*.

QUESTIONS

Considering the political dissensions, how do you account for the progress of the country between 1850 and 1860?

Why was Oregon admitted to the Union before Kansas or Nebraska? What were the greatest benefits derived from Fremont's explorations in the Rocky Mountains?

Why was the old suspension bridge at Niagara Falls considered an important historical structure? Why were telegraph lines extended more rapidly than railway lines?

What caused the increase in the value of farm lands between 1850 and 1860? How do you account for the rapid increase in urban population during the same period?

Account for the rapid development of the public school systems in the new states. What reasons can you give for the increased college attendance during this period?

Why were the people of the South more familiar with military affairs than those of the North? How had the Southern forts and arsenals been supplied with arms and ammunition?

REFERENCES

Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, vol. iii, pp. 1-114, gives a detailed and interesting picture of the conditions of the country at the opening of the war. A shorter but serviceable account is that in Blaine's *Twenty Years of Congress*, vol. i, ch. xiv. Still briefer discussions will be found in Ropes's *Story of the Civil War*, vol. i, chs. vii and viii, and Channing's *Student's History of the United States*, pp. 481-493.

The following works of fiction will be found helpful and will add interest to the study of this period: Joel Chandler Harris's *Free Joe*, a picture of life in Georgia before the Civil War; M. D. Conway's *Pine and Palm* and Winston Churchill's *The Crisis*.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
First normal school opened	1840
Process of vulcanizing rubber discovered	1844
Sewing machine invented; ether first used as an anesthetic	1846
Postage stamps first used in the United States	1847
Admission of California; first American line of trans-Atlantic steamers opened	1850

Event	Date
Nevada silver mines opened; completion of suspension bridge, Niagara Falls; Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan	1855
Organization of Western Union Telegraph Company	1856
Completion of railroad communication east and west of Chicago; financial panic; *Atlantic Monthly* established	1857
Admission of Minnesota	1858
Admission of Oregon; first flowing oil well sunk	1859
Trans-continental telegraph line completed	1861
United States railway postal service introduced	1862
First successful Atlantic cable laid	1866

CHAPTER III

THE CALL TO ARMS

1861

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—At the beginning of the study of the Civil War the importance of consulting maps can not be too strongly emphasized. Make constant use of the maps in this book, and frequently sketch others to help you understand the relative positions of the contending armies. Study thoroughly the purpose and methods of each government concerning the border states. You will have occasion to trace the results of those plans in the following years. Satisfy yourself as to why the first campaigns and engagements occurred where they did.

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525. Introductory.—Doubtless the Confederate government did not count the cost when ordering Beauregard to reduce Fort Sumter, but it is now evident that there was no other alternative except its own dissolution. The five months that had followed the inauguration of secession had been characterized by uncertainty and business stagnation in the seceding states. Large sums were owing merchants in the North and in the border states, and the only way to avoid collection was to declare open war. Again, the border states, lying between the Confederacy and the free states, while not willing to secede, believed in the right of secession, and a number of them had declared that should the Federal government attempt to force the seceding states back into the Union, they would join the Confederacy. Any act, therefore, which would provoke

the government to invade the South would probably lead to the secession of the border states. Finally, before the Confederate government could obtain recognition, it must show its ability to exist, and the assault on Fort Sumter helped to establish its power.

526. The President's Proclamation. — On April 15 President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers to serve three months, convening Congress in extra session on July 4 and commanding those in rebellion against the United States to disband within twenty days and return to their homes. In the call for troops, the President explained that the forces would be employed in recovering the United States forts and arsenals that had been seized, and in guarding the capital.

In the free states this proclamation met with general approval and the governors and citizens alike gave a prompt and willing response to the call. More than four times the number of men needed offered themselves and large sums of money were subscribed. Among the state governors who throughout the war distinguished themselves by their able efforts in sustaining the government, were Andrew of Massachusetts, Curtin of Pennsylvania, Morgan of New York, Morton of Indiana and Yates of Illinois. The actual beginning of war divided the inhabitants of the free states politically into three parties—the Republicans, the Democrats who sustained the administration and were known as

"War Democrats," and the Southern sympathizers, who were known during the war as "Copperheads."

527. The Defense of Washington. — Washington was so near the Confederate States that at first it was considered an unsafe place for the government. One of the principal causes for alarm was a threat made by Walker, the Confederate secretary of war, that before the first of May the Confederate flag would float over the dome of the capitol. From a military point of view there was little to hinder Beauregard from transporting his troops from Charleston to Washington and capturing the city. However, political and financial conditions made such a movement at the time wholly impracticable, if not impossible. The District of Columbia was nearly surrounded by Maryland, and to capture it the Confederate troops would have to invade that state. Since the Confederacy hoped to win Maryland, such a measure would have been hazardous. Furthermore, military preparations by the Confederates had not been completed. However, great alarm was felt throughout the country, and as fast as troops could be mustered they were dispatched to the capital. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and some other Northern states whose governors had foreseen the conflict had well-organized and well-equipped state militia. These were

A CONFEDERATE MILITIAMAN

immediately mustered into the service of the United States and were the first regiments sent to the front. On the day following the President's proclamation, several companies of Pennsylvania troops reached Washington and reported for duty. On the seventeenth the Sixth Massachusetts regiment started from Boston, and it was followed by the Eighth two days later.

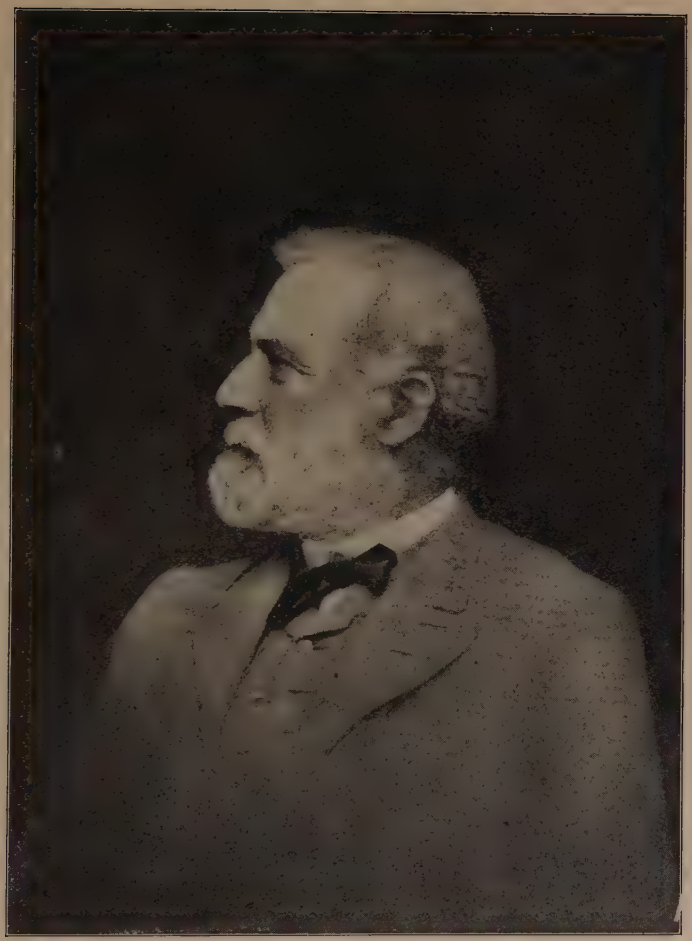
528. The Baltimore Riots.—These troops could reach Washington most quickly by passing through Baltimore, where thousands of secessionists were gathered. While crossing the city on April 19, the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, the Massachusetts Sixth was attacked by a mob. In the riot four soldiers and several citizens were killed, and a number of soldiers were wounded. This was the first blood shed in the war. For a few days arrangements were made to transport the troops direct from New York by boat or around Baltimore by another route; for a time communications through Baltimore were severed, and Washington was cut off from all connections with the North. However, with the arrival of troops, railway and telegraph lines were repaired, confidence in the government was restored and a strong loyal sentiment arose in Maryland, which saved that state for the Union.

529. Border States.—The governors of Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Missouri refused to comply with the President's request for troops, and some of them sent defiant and insulting letters in reply to his proclamation. Four of these states—

Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas—soon seceded and joined the Confederacy. Kentucky decided at first to remain neutral, but was soon won over to the Union, and Missouri was saved through the energy of General Nathaniel Lyon and Hon. F. P. Blair.

In both Missouri and Virginia, the government was in the hands of slaveholders who were in sympathy with secession, while probably a majority of the citizens were loyal to the Union. Governor Jackson and the legislature of Missouri used all possible means to force the state into the Confederacy, but failed. In Virginia similar tactics were more successful, and a forced election returned a majority for secession. However, against this vote forty counties in the northern and northwestern portion of the state protested. Soon after the outbreak of hostilities these counties formed the State of Kanawha, later changed to West Virginia (Section 542). Delaware expressed some sentiment in favor of secession, but her location rendered such a movement out of the question. At first Maryland hesitated. Governor Hicks tried to hold the state neutral, but after the arrival of United States troops he changed his opinion and furnished the four regiments of volunteers requested by the President.

The addition of the four states to the Confederacy was of great advantage, both in strengthening its forces at home and raising its prestige abroad. Virginia was particularly valuable, not only because of her vast territory and resources and her glorious traditions, but because she



ROBERT EDWARD LEE
[From a photograph from life.]

gave to the Confederate cause the three ablest generals that appeared on that side during the war. These were Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston and Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson, all graduates of West Point and well versed in military science. Not one of these men favored secession. Previous to his withdrawal from the army, Lee was tendered the command of the United States forces; but his love for his state was greater than his love for the nation, and, like Stephens, he felt compelled by conscience to follow her fortunes. Johnston and Jackson were also moved by conflicting sentiments, but finally followed their state and fought valiantly in her behalf.

From Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, a large number of men joined the Confederate forces, while the inhabitants of the mountain regions of these states and of Tennessee and North Carolina, since they were not slaveholders, remained loyal to the Union.

CAPTURING A BURNING PARAPET

530. Military Operations of 1861.—1. PRELIMINARY. — The Confederate government followed Lincoln's call for troops with a call for thirty-five thousand volunteers, and, as in the North, several times the number required offered themselves. President Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the ports

in the Confederate States. The Confederate government retaliated by issuing letters of marque and reprisal. With the secession of Virginia, Richmond was made the capital of the Confederate States and Confederate troops poured into the eastern part of the state and formed an irregular line reaching from Norfolk to Harper's Ferry.

2. West Virginia.—The location of the northwestern counties of Virginia was such as to render that region especially valuable to the Confederate government. By possession of this region, they could maintain a strong force at a distance from their capital and thus could possibly hold the Federal forces in check and prevent invasion of the state. Governor Letcher sent the Virginia militia from the eastern part of the state to hold the territory for the Confederates. About the same time General McClellan crossed the Ohio with a detachment of volunteers, and, before the fourth of July the Union forces under his command were augmented to over thirty thousand. As his troops advanced several skirmishes occurred, in which the Federals were uniformly successful. The Confederates steadily retreated before McClellan and his successors, Rosecrans and Hunter, so that before the close of the year there was not a detachment of Confederate troops in the loyal counties of Virginia.

3. Bull Run.—The troops entering Washington were immediately employed in constructing lines of earthworks on the south and west sides of the city. Meantime, the raw recruits were being drilled and organized into an army.

Before July, General Irving McDowell was commanding over thirty thousand troops in and about the city, while Generals Patterson and Lew Wallace were northwest of Washington with over twenty thousand. Both the people at the north and the government were anxious for an offensive move-

BULL RUN BRIDGE

About this bridge raged the battles of July 21, 1861, and August 30, 1862. It was destroyed by the Federals in their retreat after the second battle, but has since been rebuilt.

ment. General Beauregard was near Manassas Junction with a force of about twenty-two thousand Confederate troops, and General Joseph E. Johnston was in the Shenandoah Valley with about nine thousand. Patterson was ordered to either capture Johnston or prevent his joining Beauregard, but believing that Johnston's army was much larger than the numbers reported, he did not attack. On July 16 McDowell advanced from Washington toward Manassas with thirty thousand men, and on

the eighteenth had reached Centerville. Just beyond this place Beauregard had fortified his position on the opposite bank of a small stream called Bull Run. Johnston had been ordered to join him with all possible haste, and, as we have seen, Patterson's negligence removed all hindrance to such a movement.

McDowell planned to attack early in the morning of July 21, but on account of the inexperience of troops and officers the main attack did not occur until eleven o'clock. The battle raged hotly for four hours, when the Federal forces were in possession of the field and McDowell believed that he had won a victory. Beauregard believed also that he was defeated, but determined to make one more attempt to recover his lost ground. At this critical moment a detachment of fresh troops from Johnston's army came upon the field and led the charge. The Federal forces were exhausted by their previous night's march and the day in the field without food or water. With the approach of Johnston's troops they began to fall back slowly, but the retreat soon became a rout and this developed into a panic. Throwing away guns, coats, canteens and everything that would impede their flight, the demoralized troops fled to the intrenchments around Washington. The Confederates were as much surprised at their victory as were the Federals at their defeat, and they made no attempt at pursuit.

In the South, the victory was at first recognized with quiet satisfaction, but the Southern papers soon found in

it a cause for boasting. At the North the defeat was at once depressing and humiliating. As the North recovered from the shock, the people began to exhibit in speech and act a grim determination which never relaxed until the war ended. The military results of Bull Run were insignificant, but its moral effect upon the country was important.

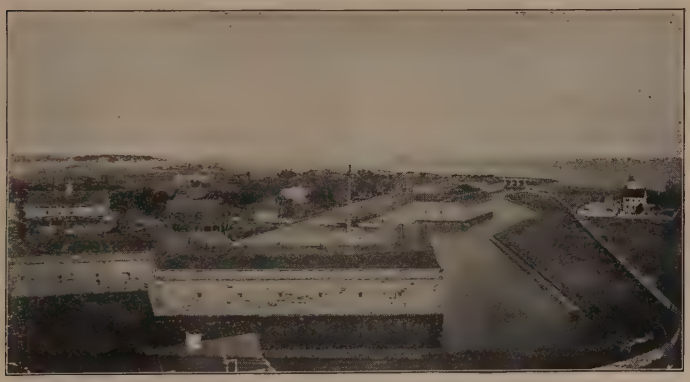
GEORGE BRINTON McCLELLAN
[From a photograph.]

4. McClellan in Command. — Gen. George B. McClellan[1] was called from West Virginia and placed in command of the forces in and about Washington, which from that time constituted the Army of the Potomac. During the remaining months of the year, this army, which was

[1] General McClellan was a graduate of West Point and a classmate of "Stonewall" Jackson. He took an active part in the war with Mexico, afterwards was sent to Europe to report upon the art of war and had an opportunity to observe some of the operations in Crimea. Soon after his return, he resigned from the army and was appointed chief engineer of the Illinois Central Railway, later became vice-president of that corporation and when the war broke out, he was president of the Eastern division of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad.

soon increased to one hundred fifty thousand men, was organized and drilled in preparation for the work it was to do, and was employed in completing the defenses about Washington. While no general advance was attempted, the Confederate lines were gradually pushed back from the vicinity of Washington to Bull Run, where Johnston's army was likewise engaged in reorganization and drilling for further work. In November, General Scott, on account of age and ill health, resigned, and McClellan was appointed commander in chief of the United States forces.

5. Other Engagements in the East. — Gen. Benjamin F. Butler occupied the York peninsula, upon which



FORTRESS MONROE, VIRGINIA

Fortress Monroe was situated, and through his blunders a detachment of his troops was defeated at Big Bethel on June 10. A Federal force of about two thousand was outnumbered and defeated in an engagement at

Ball's Bluff, but at Drainsville a Federal force under Ord defeated the Confederates under General Stuart.

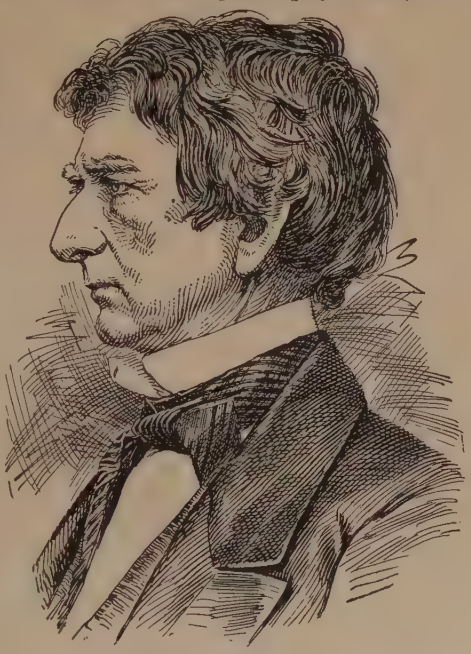
On the coast, combined naval and land forces captured Hatteras Inlet and Fort Hatteras, and another expedition captured Port Royal and occupied the islands between Charleston and Savannah. In September a Federal fleet took possession of Ship Island, at the mouth of the Mississippi.

6. Missouri.—General Lyon soon obtained control of the northern and central parts of Missouri, but in the southern part the Confederates continued to receive reënforcements from Arkansas and Texas. Lyon met these forces at Wilson's Creek, near Springfield, August 10, and a severe engagement followed. The Federal forces were defeated and Lyon was killed. During the remaining months of the year, however, the Federals under General Curtis gradually drove the Confederates from the state, without further important engagements.

A small detachment of Illinois troops under General Grant destroyed a Confederate camp at Belmont, but were attacked by a superior force and compelled to retire.

7. Summary.—In the campaigns of 1862 the Confederacy had achieved a distinct advantage, which manifested itself in increased ardor and optimism. However, during the year the Union had fortified Washington and created a formidable navy; it had organized and equipped an army of over three hundred thousand men, and had gained possession of important strategic points along the coast,

from which the blockade could be extended; it had saved to itself the border states of Maryland and Kentucky and western Virginia. The commerce and industries of the North had scarcely been affected by the war, but the commerce of the Confederate States had been practically cut off. Soon after the organization of the Confederate government, it suspended specie payments, and its only resorts for raising funds to prosecute the war were direct taxation against tremendous opposition and the issuing of bonds and treasury notes. Before the close of 1861 these had begun to depreciate in value, causing a rise in prices and a general depression of business.



WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD

531. Congress.—In pursuance of the President's proclamation, the Thirty-seventh Congress convened July 4. The extra session was devoted entirely to war measures. The President asked for an army of at least four hundred

thousand men and for four hundred million dollars to carry on the war. Congress authorized the raising of five hundred thousand volunteers and a loan of two hundred fifty million dollars; it also increased the tariff, provided for a direct tax and imposed an income tax.

Previous to the assembling of Congress the President had followed his call for seventy-five thousand troops for three months with one for three hundred thousand for three years or during the war, and had also taken measures to increase the regular army and the navy. The first call for troops was entirely within his authority, and the term of enlistment was limited to ninety days, in order that the act might not transcend the constitutional limit. The other acts were not strictly legal, but the emergency was such that the President felt warranted in exceeding his express authority, and he was sustained by a large majority in both branches of Congress.

532. Foreign Relations.—1. NEUTRALITY.—With the exception of Russia, the nations of Europe were not friendly to the United States. Both the Federal and Confederate governments appealed to these nations for moral support, and the Confederacy asked for recognition as an independent government. The attitude of England was the most important, on account of her influence as a world power. Immediately after Lincoln's inauguration, Mr. Charles Francis Adams was appointed minister to Great Britain, but before his arrival in London the queen had issued a proclamation of neutrality, and

within a few weeks the other European governments had followed.

The aristocracy and government of Great Britain were in sympathy with the Confederate States for commercial and political reasons. England needed cotton, and with the ports of the Southern states blockaded only a small portion of the usual supply could be obtained. Besides, our protective policy had always been objectionable to British manufacturers, while the Constitution of the Confederacy expressly forbade the laying of such tariffs. British statesmen were not averse to the division of the American republic, for they envied and feared its growing power. In the formation of the government of the Confederate States they believed that they foresaw either the downfall of the Union or such a weakening of its power as to remove it from a position among the nations of the first rank. Therefore, as far as they dared, they encouraged disunion.

A proclamation of neutrality was a virtual recognition of the Confederate government as a belligerent. This gave the Confederacy the same war rights as the United States and conferred upon her privateers recognition as ships of war. Without this recognition they would have been treated as pirates. England's position was justifiable upon principles of international law, but the announcement of the proclamation of neutrality before the arrival of Mr. Adams and before the British government had an opportunity to learn the policy and purpose of the new

administration was considered in America as a hasty and unfriendly act.

2. The Trent Affair.—At this critical juncture an event occurred which came near involving the United States in war with both England and France. James M. Mason and John Slidell had been appointed by the Confederate government commissioners to England and France. They ran the blockade and reached Havana, where they embarked upon the British mail steamer *Trent*, for their destination. On November 8, the *Trent* was stopped by the American man-of-war, *San Jacinto*, under Captain Wilkes, and the commissioners were taken from her by force, in spite of the protestations of her officers. The *Trent* was then allowed to proceed upon her voyage.

A UNION SAILOR

This event caused excitement in both countries. In

the United States it was at first hailed with joy. Captain Wilkes was officially commended for his act and was for the time a national hero. However, President Lincoln and Secretary Seward saw that this capture was liable to lead to grave complications. A demand was soon made upon the United States government for the release of the commissioners with an apology for the attack upon the British flag.

From the view point of international law the act of Captain Wilkes could not be justified. The *Trent* in transporting these commissioners made herself liable to seizure, and Captain Wilkes would have been justified in taking the *Trent* into port as a prize, to be adjudged by an admiralty court. In taking the commissioners from the ship he had violated a principle for which the United States fought the war of 1812 and which it had ever since maintained; namely, that no nation had the right to board and search the ships of another nation with which she was at peace. The United States government immediately disavowed the act of Captain Wilkes and placed the commissioners on a British ship, in which they were conveyed to their destination.

The disavowal of the act and the surrender of the commissioners was in reality a decided diplomatic triumph for the United States. By her demands Great Britain repudiated the principle of the right of search, and the fulfillment of these demands by the United States had set an important precedent for establishing its contention

in international law. The happy adjustment of the difficulty was brought about by Secretary Seward on the part of the United States and Prince Albert on the part of Great Britain. This noted statesman was a firm friend of America, and even while suffering from an illness which soon after caused his death, he used his influence to greatly modify the draft of demands upon the United States government.

QUESTIONS

Why were the citizens of the Confederate States considered rebels by the United States authorities? What did the Confederacy gain by the attack on Fort Sumter?

Why did the border states object to President Lincoln's call for troops? On what ground could they sustain Davis rather than Lincoln in calling for volunteers?

Why was Kentucky more loyal than Tennessee, or Missouri than Virginia? What led to the formation of the State of West Virginia?

What states furnished men for both armies?

Why were the Confederates successful at Bull Run? What was the effect of this battle upon the North? Upon the South?

On what grounds was England justified in issuing a proclamation of neutrality? Why did the United States object?

Why did the British government and aristocracy sympathize with the Confederacy? How can you account for the attitude of France? Of Russia?

Was any principle of international law violated in the *Trent* affair? If so, what?

REFERENCES

The first campaigns of the war in the east and west are briefly outlined in Dodge's *Bird's-eye View of the Civil War*, pp. 1-24. More complete and detailed accounts will be found in Rhodes's *History of the United States*, vol. iii, pp. 357-552. The same work gives a satisfactory discussion of the political and foreign affairs during the same period. See also Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, pp. 213-223, and Grant's *Personal Memoirs*, vol. i, chs. xvii-xxi.

The *Trent* affair is fully discussed in Foster's *A Century of American Diplomacy*, pp. 366-376, and in the following volumes of the American Statesmen series: *Abraham Lincoln*, vol. i, ch. xii; *William H. Seward*, ch. xviii, and *Charles Sumner*, ch. xiii.

For full information concerning the careers and achievements of the leading generals on both sides, see the volumes of the Beacon Biographies and those of the Great Commanders series.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
First call for troops	Apr. 15, 1861
Secession of Virginia	Apr. 17, 1861
Baltimore riots	Apr. 19, 1861
Secession of Arkansas	May 6, 1861
England's proclamation of neutrality	May 13, 1861
Secession of North Carolina	May 20, 1861
Secession of Tennessee	June 8, 1861
West Virginia campaign	June-Aug., 1861
Battle of Big Bethel	June 10, 1861
Richmond made Confederate capital	July, 1861
Extra session of Thirty-seventh Congress	July 4, 1861
First Battle of Bull Run	July 21, 1861
Battle of Wilson's Creek	Aug. 10, 1861
Battle of Ball's Bluff	Oct. 22, 1861
McClellan, commander of United States armies	Nov., 1861
Capture of the *Trent*	Nov. 8, 1861
Mason and Slidell released	Jan. 2, 1862

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR

1862

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—Get a clear idea of the position of the contending armies, and of the problem and the plan of each government at the beginning of 1862. Determine to what extent these plans were successful.

A valuable and interesting line of study in connection with this chapter is the attitude of the people in the Confederate States and the people of the Union towards their respective governments. Why was one so much more thoroughly united than the other?

Compare McClellan and Lee in temperament, natural aptitude for the work and military ability. Had any great military leader appeared on the Union side at the close of 1862? Decide for yourself how the Confederates might have been prevented from regaining eastern Kentucky and Tennessee.

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533. Financial Measures.—At the beginning of 1862, the financial situation of the Union government was grave. The people of European countries would not accept its securities, and even Confederate bonds were more popular than those of the United States. The banks had rallied nobly to the assistance of the government, but the act of the secretary of the treasury in demanding coin in payment for bonds which the banks took had so scattered their reserve of specie as to leave them in a precarious condition. The treasury notes authorized at the extra session of Congress were not legal tender—that is, no one was compelled by law to receive them in payment of debt; therefore

many banks and corporations refused them. For this reason these notes had not relieved the demand for money as fully as was anticipated. Business had been depressed at the beginning of the war, and the revenue receipts were also far less than had been anticipated.

When the Thirty-seventh Congress met in regular session, in December, 1861, it was shown by Secretary Chase that the means by which at the extra session the treasury had been provided with temporary relief were entirely inadequate for the prosecution of the war. The amount of coin in the country was considerably less than at first supposed, and this was being sent abroad each month to pay debts due in Europe.

SALMON P. CHASE

The work of financial relief was taken up by the committee on ways and means, of which Mr. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania was chairman. This committee soon reported the bill known as the Legal Tender Act. This bill, passed in March, 1862, authorized the government

to issue one hundred fifty million dollars of United States notes and made them legal tender for all debts, except duties on imports and interest on the United States debt. These notes bore no interest and could be exchanged for six per cent bonds, of which an issue of $500,000,000 was authorized. They were made redeemable at the pleasure of the government after five years and payable in twenty years.

The purpose of the bill was to provide currency. There was strong opposition to the legal tender clause, but the bill became a law. It was immediately followed by the results usually attending such legislation. Other issues were demanded; in July, 1862, another bill authorized the issue of $150,000,000, and in March, 1863, the act was repeated. In 1864, $431,000,000 of these legal tender notes were outstanding.

All bonds issued during the war provided that both bonds and interest should be paid in coin. This gave the purchasers assurance of the full faith and credit of the government and the bonds were readily taken, so that in pursuance of these two measures, the sale of bonds and the issuing of United States notes, the government was able to carry on the struggle, though not without considerable inconvenience and financial stringency.

In July, 1862, the previous measures of the administration for replenishing the treasury having failed to produce the desired result, Congress passed another law embodying a system of internal taxation, the most com-

plete and far-reaching that has ever been attempted in the history of the country. Rhodes says of it, "It might be briefly described, with a near approach to accuracy, as an act which taxed everything." Distilleries, breweries, almost all other manufacturing plants, merchants, theaters and other amusement enterprises, lawyers, physicians—in fact, almost all business men engaged either in mercantile pursuits or professions were required to buy licenses. Furthermore, duties were laid upon liquors, tobacco, almost all manufactured articles, livestock, bonds, the income of railroads and steamships, of banks and insurance companies, even on the returns from advertising in newspapers and magazines, and, strangest of all, upon the salaries of officers and employes of the United States government. Incomes of over $10,000 were taxed five per cent, and those under that amount, three per cent. Stamp duties were required upon patent medicines, real estate transfers, playing cards and many other small articles.

534. The West and Southwest.—1. THE SITUATION. —Between September, 1861, and January, 1862, the Confederates had made strenuous efforts to secure Kentucky. All the Confederate forces between Cumberland Gap and the Mississippi were under the command of General Albert Sidney Johnston. These troops occupied an irregular line along the southern border of Kentucky and the northern boundary of Tennessee, their most northern outposts being Columbus, which was occupied by General Polk,

and Bowling Green, where General Buckner was stationed with six thousand men.

A fleet of ironclad gunboats had been completed by the Federals under the direction of Colonel James B. Eads, and by the first of the year was ready for service on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers and their tributaries. This fleet, in charge of Flag Officer Foote, was to coöperate with the Union forces which were under General Grant at Cairo. There was also another Union army under Buell near Nashville.

ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON

2. Mill Spring.—Late in the fall a Confederate force of about ten thousand under General Zollicoffer, which had been hovering about Cumberland Gap, entered Kentucky and joined a force under Crittenden, with the expectation of holding the eastern part of the state. On January 19 the Confederates were attacked near Mill Spring by a Union force under Thomas. A short but decisive engagement followed, in which the Confederates were severely defeated and Zollicoffer was killed.

3. Forts Henry and Donelson.—From the Battle of Belmont till early in February, the forces under Grant remained at Cairo comparatively inactive. Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland were occupied by Confederate garrisons. On February 6 an expedition comprising a land force of fifteen thousand under Grant and a fleet of seven gunboats under Foote set forth. On the sixth, after a short bombardment by the gunboats, Fort Henry was surrendered to Commodore Foote. However, on the previous night, three thousand of the garrison had been sent to Fort Donelson, eleven miles distant. Grant telegraphed General Halleck, "Fort Henry is ours. I shall take and destroy Fort Donelson on the 8th."

The capture of Fort Henry alarmed the Confederate commanders in Tennessee. Johnston sent eight thousand men under Generals Floyd and Buckner from Bowling Green to aid in the defense of Fort Donelson. He also sent another detachment of four thousand under General Pillow. With these reënforcements the fort had a garrison of nearly twenty thousand. It was strongly situated for defense, for it crowned a high bluff and fronted the Cumberland River. Heavy rains had flooded the streams and made the roads well-nigh impassable, so that Grant was unable to move his army as expeditiously as he expected, and his entire force was not in position until the fourteenth. On the afternoon of that day, Commodore Foote began the attack, but a number of gunboats were

soon disabled and compelled to drop down the river. On the following day the Confederates attempted to cut their way out, and made a sharp and almost successful attack on the Federal right wing under McClernand. For some unknown reason the Confederates failed to follow up their advantage. The presence of General Grant upon the field soon changed the tide of battle—the Confederates were driven back within their lines; the entire Federal force was ordered to advance and had gained a distinct advantage when night fell.

A UNION SOLDIER

Within the fort consternation reigned. Floyd, who had been Buchanan's secretary of war, was first in command, and Pillow, second. On account of their treasonable acts before the beginning of hostilities, neither of them cared to fall into the hands of the Federal authorities, so they turned over the command to General Buckner, and

with about three thousand men made their escape. Forrest's cavalry of about one thousand also escaped during the night.

General Buckner, who was by far the ablest commander of the three, was thus left to bear the disgrace of defeat. Early in the morning he sent a note to Grant, asking for an armistice until terms of capitulation could be agreed upon. In response, Grant sent the reply which obtained for him the soubriquet of "Unconditional Surrender Grant." It read,

"No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

The Confederate general thereupon capitulated.

By the capture of Fort Donelson the Federals secured about fifteen thousand prisoners, twenty thousand stands of arms, much artillery, many horses and a vast quantity of supplies. Moreover, they compelled the Confederates to evacuate Nashville, Bowling Green and Chattanooga and to fall back into the northern part of Mississippi.

4. SHILOH.—Owing to an alleged violation of orders, General Grant[1] was removed from his command for a short

[1] Ulysses S. Grant was a graduate of West Point and had served in the Mexican War. He later engaged in various pursuits, but was not financially successful. At the breaking out of the war, he was, at the age of thirty-nine, a salesman in his father's hardware and leather store at Galena, Ill. In April, 1861, a company of volunteers was raised in the town of Galena, and Grant drilled them, accompanied them to Springfield, Ill., and remained with them until they were mustered into the service of the United States. He was then for a short time employed in the office of the adjutant general of the state, where his executive ability and knowledge of military affairs soon attracted attention. In June he was appointed by Governor Yates colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Infantry, and the following August was made brigadier general of volunteers. His first campaign was in Missouri, where his every movement showed courage, sound judgment and military skill. When he made the attacks upon Forts Henry and Donelson, he was in command of the District of Southeast Missouri, with headquarters at Cairo. His success led to his immediate appointment as major general.

time after the capture of Fort Donelson. An investigation, however, immediately disproved the charges against him, and he was restored to his former position. Meantime his army, known as the *Army of the Tennessee* and

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE WEST IN 1862

numbering about forty thousand, had moved southward along the Tennessee River to Pittsburg Landing. Buell's army, known as the *Army of the Ohio* and having about an equal number of men, was also moving up the Cumberland. General Halleck's plan was to unite these two armies against Johnston, who had retired to Corinth

and had been joined by Beauregard. By strenuous appeals to the governors of Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana, and to department commanders, Johnston had succeeded in increasing his forces to about forty thousand. His plan was to attack Grant before the Army of the Ohio could reach him.

The Federal troops were in six divisions and distributed over an irregular line about two miles in length and extending from the Shiloh church to Pittsburg Landing, some twenty miles from Corinth. Most of the ground was covered with timber and some of it with heavy underbrush. The lowlands were flooded, and the several divisions of the army had established their camps more with reference to the convenience of the ground than to the formation of a continuous line of defense; consequently there were wide gaps between them.

GRANT'S CHARGE AT SHILOH
[From an old engraving.]

Early in the morning of April 6, Johnston attacked in force, surprising Prentiss's division and finally compelling it to surrender. A portion of Sherman's division fared little better. McClernand's and Wallace's divisions, supported by Hurlbut, withstood the first shock but were gradually pushed back. Grant did not arrive

upon the field till eight o'clock, but quickly reformed the broken lines and reëstablished the batteries, and the battle was stubbornly fought during the entire day.

By night the Union forces had been driven back along the entire line and were in a dangerous situation, but the Confederates withdrew from the attack. Both armies had lost heavily in battle and they suffered terribly from cold and fatigue during the rainy night which followed. The Confederates also suffered irreparable injury in the death of their talented commander, General Johnston, who was wounded early in the afternoon. The command then fell upon General Beauregard.

During the night Lew Wallace's division of about five thousand arrived, and also a part of Buell's army, giving the Federal forces twenty-five thousand additional fresh troops. Early in the morning, Grant and Buell made an attack along the entire line. After the prolonged exertion of the three previous days and their exposure during the night, the Confederate troops were in no condition to withstand the onslaught of fresh troops, but they held their ground bravely for several hours. By four in the afternoon the battle was over, and the Confederates were in full but orderly retreat towards Corinth. The roads were almost impassable and the Federal troops were so exhausted that pursuit was deemed impracticable.

Shiloh,[1] or, as it is often called, Pittsburg Landing, was the most hotly contested battle fought by the western armies during the war, and one of the most important. The Federal forces lost in killed, wounded and missing over thirteen thousand men, while the Confederate loss was about eleven thousand.

5. Island No. 10.—About forty-five miles south of Columbus the Mississippi makes one of its many U-shaped bends. New Madrid, on the Missouri side of this bend, had been occupied by the Confederates, and Island No. 10, a short distance above this point, had been strongly fortified to prevent the passage of Federal boats down the river. General Pope, with an army of forty thousand, marched down the Missouri side of the river, and on March 3 invested New Madrid, but on the night of March 12 the Confederates evacuated the town and escaped. Finding it impossible to reduce the Confederate position on Island No. 10, or to pass the batteries, the Federal engineers cut a canal twelve miles long across the peninsula, enabling the Federal gunboats to attack the Confederate works on the island from the rear. Finding their communications by water cut off by the Federal fleets above and below, and being in danger from Polk's forces, the Confederates sought to abandon their position. A portion of them escaped by

[1] Grant's conduct in the first day's battle, as well as his neglect in not taking greater precaution against an attack, has aroused much adverse criticism. At the time there was a strong demand for his removal, but Lincoln refused to comply. Mr. A. K. McClure, in his *Reminiscences*, relates that in a long interview with the President, during which he strongly urged Grant's removal, Mr. Lincoln, after some deliberation, earnestly replied, "I can't spare this man: he fights."

crossing the Mississippi, but the commander, McKall, and several thousand men were compelled to surrender.

Commodore Foote then proceeded down the river, put to rout the Confederate fleet and about a month later compelled the evacuation of Forts Pillow and Randolph, just above Memphis. With the fall of these forts the Mississippi was cleared of Confederate forces as far south as Vicksburg.

6. Corinth.—A few days after the Battle of Shiloh, General Halleck arrived at Pittsburg Landing and took command of the army in person. Grant's and Buell's forces, joined by those of Pope and other additions, increased Halleck's army to over one hundred thousand. With this army arranged in three divisions, he moved slowly and cautiously toward Corinth, fortifying his position each night. Beauregard had ample time to remove all supplies and munitions and to evacuate the city in season to prevent capture. When Halleck's forces entered the city, they found only dismantled and deserted fortifications. The town was a valuable strategic point, because it was an important railway junction; otherwise the Federals gained an empty victory.

7. New Orleans. — In the latter part of March, General Butler concentrated upon Ship Island, near New Orleans, an army of about fourteen thousand men, to coöperate with Commodore Farragut and Captain Porter of the navy in opening the Mississippi and capturing the city. New Orleans relied for its defense chiefly upon

Forts Jackson and Saint Philip, which were located on opposite sides of the Mississippi about seventy-five miles below. Louisiana had been stripped of Confederate troops to supply the armies of Johnston and Beauregard at Corinth, and General Lovell, in command of the district, could muster only about three thousand men besides those in the forts. Above the forts, the river held a strong Confederate fleet, consisting of rams and gunboats, and just below Fort Jackson a chain binding together a number of hulks of wrecked vessels had been stretched across the river to obstruct the passage of the Federal boats.

NEW ORLEANS AND VICINITY

The Federal fleet consisted of forty-seven vessels, eight of which were sloops of war and seventeen steam gunboats heavily armored. After bombarding Fort Jackson for three days without apparent effect, it was decided to attempt to run the ships past the forts. Two of the smaller gunboats under cover of darkness proceeded up the river and cut the chain. On the morning of April 24, the sloops and most of the gunboats successfully passed the forts, while the mortar boats were engaged in a continuous bombardment. The Confederate fleet was shattered, and on April 25, Commodore Farragut appeared before New Orleans and received the surrender of the city.

As soon as the inhabitants of New Orleans received word that the Federal fleet had passed the forts, they began the destruction of all property which would aid the enemy. Cotton worth probably $1,000,000 was hauled to the levees and set on fire. A number of steamers at the wharves, laden with cotton, were fired and set adrift down the river, and other boats were burned at their docks. A large quantity of tobacco was also destroyed. General Butler took possession of the city and remained in command until the following December. During his administration he maintained a rigid military government. He cleaned the city, employed negroes to harvest the crops of sugar-cane in the neighboring districts, and by confiscation and assessment of the property of those in sympathy with the Confederacy obtained supplies and money for the support of his forces and of the poor in and about the city. His rule displeased the influential citizens, and

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER

on December 15 he was superseded by General N. P. Banks. He turned over to his successor an army larger by over four thousand men than the one he took with him, an ample quantity of supplies and over two hundred thousand dollars in cash for the support of the Federal troops.

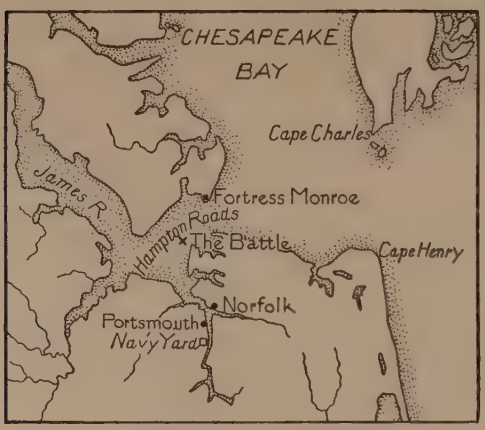
With the surrender of New Orleans, Forts Jackson and Saint Philip also fell. Baton Rouge was soon occupied by Union troops and the Federal fleet moved up the Mississippi, clearing it of Confederate boats and batteries as far as Vicksburg, where Commodore Farragut's fleet joined that of Commodore Foote which had come down the river from Cairo (Section 534, 6). These fleets failed in an attempt to capture the fortifications about Vicksburg.

New Orleans was the most important city and commercial port in the Confederate States, and its capture by the Federal forces was a severe blow to Confederate pride. It not only crippled the government at home, but caused it such a loss of prestige in Europe as to render its recognition by France or England improbable.

535. West of the Mississippi.—During the spring and summer both armies contended for the control of the territory west of the Mississippi. On the whole, the results of their efforts were favorable to the Union. On March 7, at Pea Ridge, Missouri, the Federals under Hunter administered such a defeat to the Confederates commanded by Price and Van Dorn that the latter were compelled to permanently evacuate the state. New Mexico was early

won to the Federal cause, in spite of a Confederate expedition by a body of Texans, which at first promised success.

536. The Monitor and Merrimac.—When the Federal officers abandoned the Norfolk navy yard they set on fire and scuttled the forty-gun frigate *Merrimac*, but only her rigging and upper works were burned. The Confederates raised her and converted her into an ironclad. In the remodeling, the hull was cut down nearly to the water's edge, and upon this was placed a sloping roof of heavy oak timber, strongly overlaid with railroad iron. This roof extended from about two feet below the water line to ten feet above. The ends were also well protected, and a strong iron beak was attached to the bow to enable the vessel to operate as a ram. The armament consisted of six nine-inch smoothbore cannons, two seven-inch rifles and two six-inch rifles. When finished, this peculiar craft formed the most destructive and dangerous warship afloat. She was christened by the Confederates The *Virginia*.



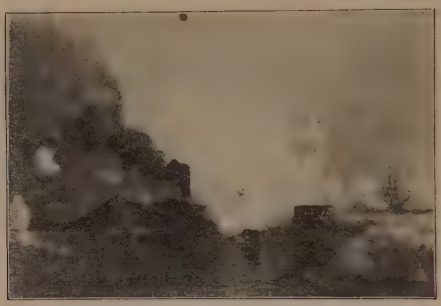
HAMPTON ROADS AND VICINITY

While the Confederate ironclad was in process of reconstruction, the Federal government was also engaged in building an ironclad vessel, under the direction of John Ericsson, a celebrated Swedish engineer. This boat was of a new pattern. The deck was just above the water line, was elliptical in shape, pointed at each end, and its upper surface was convex. Near the forward end of the boat was a low wheelhouse and in the center was a turret eleven feet in diameter, containing two eleven-inch Dahlgren guns. This turret was built so as to revolve and thus enable the guns to be discharged in any direction while the ship pursued a straight course. This vessel, christened The *Monitor*, was aptly but derisively called by the Confederates "a cheesebox on a raft."

JOHN ERICSSON

On the eighth of March the *Merrimac*, under the command of Commodore Buchanan, with four gunboats in attendance, steamed into Hampton Roads, where in a short time she destroyed, with hardly a contest, the

frigates *Cumberland* and *Congress*, and attacked the *Minnesota* and drove her ashore. Washington and all the northern ports were filled with consternation. There seemed to be nothing to prevent this formidable engine of war from breaking the blockade, bombarding Washington and any or all of the coast cities. But the *Monitor*, under the command of Captain J. L. Worden, had started from New York two days before the raid of the *Merrimac*, and arrived in Hampton Roads during the night of March 8. When the *Merrimac* returned to the attack on the morning of the ninth, she was met by this new and strange antagonist. The vessels fought at close range, but the shots from the *Merrimac* glided as harmlessly from the *Monitor* as had those of the Federal frigates from the ironclad sides of their opponent on the previous day. When the *Merrimac* attempted to ram the *Monitor*, the Federal vessel was so easily and quickly maneuvered that it eluded the blow without difficulty. The duel continued for four hours, when both contestants withdrew, neither having inflicted or received serious damage. The *Merrimac* never engaged in another battle. She returned to



THE FIRST FIGHT OF IRONCLADS

The battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* in Hampton Roads, March 9, 1862. [From a painting by W. F. Halsall, in the Capitol, Washington.]

Norfolk, where, a short time after, she was destroyed by the Confederates when they evacuated the navy yard.

The duel in Hampton Roads was the most far-reaching naval event of the century. Ironclads had previously been constructed in England and France, but they had never been tested in battle. On the morning of March 8, 1862, the wooden frigate was considered a formidable ship of war; before the evening of March 9 it was proved to be as useless as a paper vessel, when opposed to an ironclad. The latter had so fully demonstrated its practicability and value that the navies of the world had to be reconstructed.

SHAFT OF THE MERRIMAC

Section of the propelling apparatus of the famous Confederate ironclad, *Merrimac*. Now preserved in front of the Confederate White House in Richmond.

537. The Army of the Potomac.—1. LINCOLN IMPATIENT.—During the winter of 1861-1862 the Army of the Potomac had been increased to two hundred thousand. It was well armed, equipped and drilled for effective service. It was still under the command of General McClellan, who was also general in chief of all the forces of the United States. Weeks and months passed without any attempt

on the part of McClellan to advance, and the North was becoming impatient at his delay.

The Confederate army opposing him numbered from sixty to sixty-five thousand and was under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston. One of his important positions was at Manassas, and from that point the Confederate line extended irregularly towards Richmond. During the autumn months, when the roads were in excellent condition and the time seemed opportune for a general advance, McClellan turned a deaf ear to all entreaties, claiming that the army was still unprepared to assume the offensive. On January 22 President Lincoln, fearful of the consequences of longer delay, issued his *General War Order Number One.* This directed that on February 22 there should be a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the enemy. He followed this on the thirty-first with *Special War Order Number One,* which directed the Army of the Potomac to seize and occupy a point upon the railroad southwest of Manassas Junction, the expedition to move on or before February 22.

2. The Peninsula Campaign.—McClellan did not agree with President Lincoln's plan to proceed against Richmond by way of Manassas. He desired to attack by the James River, marching up the peninsula between that stream and the York, and to this plan the President finally gave his consent. On March 11 McClellan was relieved of his duties as general in chief of the Federal

forces, and was thereafter able to devote his entire attention to the Army of the Potomac. Leaving McDowell's corps of thirty-five thousand at Washington, McClellan's army, one hundred twenty thousand strong, started for Fortress Monroe, where it arrived early in April. The Confederate lines had been somewhat contracted, but still they extended from the James to the York River, a distance of thirteen miles, and were held by a comparatively small force. An immediate advance by McClellan's overwhelming army would have carried them all within a few days. Instead of attempting such a movement, however, the Federal commander sat down before Yorktown for a month's siege. When at last he felt prepared to move upon the works, the Confederates under Magruder had slipped away. The Federal forces followed in close pursuit and Hooker's division encountered the rear guard of the Confederates at Williamsburg, but after an engagement of nine hours Hooker's forces were compelled to retreat. During the night, as the main body of the Federal forces arrived, the Confederates withdrew toward Richmond. Owing to heavy rains and to his natural caution and procrastination, McClellan occupied two weeks in marching from Williamsburg to the Chickahominy River, a distance of forty-five miles.

A CONFEDERATE INFANTRYMAN

Early in May the Confederates abandoned Norfolk and destroyed the *Merrimac*. This opened the James River to the Federal gunboats, so that the navy could coöperate with the army in an attack upon Richmond. The Federal fleet, accompanied by the *Monitor*, entered the river and approached within eight miles of the Confederate capital. Here they found their advance blocked by floating obstructions, behind which strong Confederate batteries were posted.

THOMAS JONATHAN JACKSON
Commonly known as "Stonewall" Jackson.

McClellan's procrastination had convinced the able Confederate general, Johnston, that he need not fear an immediate attack, and he used the time in reorganizing his army and erecting fortifications. Meantime, on May 17, McDowell, whose army was at Fredericksburg, was ordered to march towards Richmond to reënforce McClellan. There was also a small Federal force in the Shenandoah under Banks, and another in West Virginia under Fremont. These armies numbered all told nearly sixty thousand,

but each was acting under independent instructions, without any general plan in view.

"Stonewall" Jackson, with a force of twenty thousand, by swift marches completely outgeneraled the Federal commanders, brought the main body of his troops successively against the various Federal detachments, and won a series of victories at McDowell, Front Royal and Winchester that caused the recall of McDowell's order to reënforce McClellan, and the sending of twenty thousand of his men into the Shenandoah to capture Jackson. However, before they arrived, that wily commander was safely out of reach.

On May 31 Johnston attacked Keyes's and Heintzelman's corps, which were at Fair Oaks on the west side of the Chickahominy, but was repulsed after a long battle. McClellan failed to follow up the victory, so it was barren of results. General Johnston was wounded in this engagement and Lee was thenceforth commander of the army before Richmond, known as the *Army of Northern Virginia*.

Lee was known as one of the ablest of military engineers, but his genius as a commander was scarcely suspected. His first movement was to fortify his lines, a proceeding which McClellan ought not to have allowed, for at the time of the Battle of Fair Oaks the Federal troops were within four miles of Richmond and a prompt advance probably would have routed the Confederate army.

The right wing of the Army of the Potomac was commanded by General Fitz-John Porter. Lee believed that

an attack upon this wing would be successful in withdrawing troops from points nearer Richmond. He therefore dispatched reënforcements to Jackson, who was still in the Shenandoah Valley, and instructed him to attack

THE BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS

Porter. In pursuance of these orders, A. P. Hill's division of Jackson's army reached the Union lines near Mechanicsville on June 26, and began an engagement in which the Confederates were repulsed with considerable loss. But under McClellan's orders Porter withdrew to Gaines's Mill during the night.

On taking his new position, Porter saw that his force was too small to hold so long a line and sent to McClellan for reënforcements. The Confederates offered battle on

June 27, and Porter was obliged to contend with a force that outnumbered his more than two to one; yet so skilfully did he handle his command that it sustained the attack until the middle of the afternoon, when Slocum's division of nine thousand joined him. During all this time, the main body of the Union army was lying idle behind entrenchments, and Porter was left to fight alone. Finally, about seven o'clock, the exhausted Federals were compelled to retreat, abandoning a number of their guns to the Confederates.

With the battle at Mechanicsville began what is known as the "Seven Days' Battles" of the Army of the Potomac. The Federal defeat at Gaines's Mill was particularly disastrous, since it enabled the Confederates to cut McClellan's communication with his base of supplies at White House, on the York River Railroad.

McClellan immediately decided to change his base to the James River. This necessitated the abandoning of his defenses on the Chickahominy and the retreat of the entire army across White Oak Swamp. All military stores and supplies that could not be moved were destroyed, and twenty-five hundred sick and wounded were necessarily left in the hospitals to fall into the hands of the Confederates. This movement of the Federal army evidently deceived Lee and allowed McClellan twenty-four hours in which to organize and begin his retreat unmolested. When the plan was discovered, the Confederates started in hot pursuit. On the morning of June 29, Magruder overtook Sumner

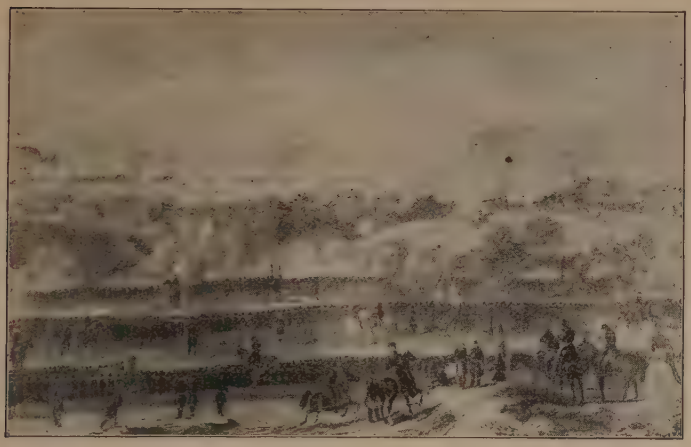
and Smith at Savage's Station, and a severe engagement followed. The Confederates were defeated, and the rear guard of the Federal army passed White Oak Swamp in safety. On the following day another severe battle was

THE PENINSULA CAMPAIGN

fought at Glendale, or Fraser's Farm. It was a long-drawn struggle between Longstreet's and A. P. Hill's divisions on the Confederate side and McCall's, Heintzelman's and Sumner's on the Federal side. Neither army was victorious, and the Federal troops continued their retreat in good order.

On the morning of July 1 the entire Federal army was posted in a strong position on Malvern Hill, near the

James River. The batteries were carefully placed so as to command all approaches. The Federal troops were confronted by the entire Army of Northern Virginia. Lee, supposing that he had defeated the main body of McClellan's forces at Gaines's Mill, and that during the retreat he had been pursuing the shattered fragments of defeated



BATTLE OF MALVERN HILL

divisions, determined to attack. The decision was a grave error. The Confederates were defeated at every point, with fearful slaughter. Instead of following up the victory by an immediate advance, McClellan, who reached the field just at the close of battle, again ordered a precipitate retreat, leaving the dead unburied and many of the wounded on the field. The following day he halted his army and reorganized it at Harrison's Landing. On July 8 Lee also withdrew within his entrenchments

around Richmond, and the Peninsula campaign was at an end.

McClellan estimated his losses in the Seven Days' Battles at fifteen thousand two hundred fifty. The Confederate losses were probably about the same. The most magnificent army that the United States had ever mustered into service had been defeated and disheartened because of the inactivity and procrastination of its commanding general. The results from the Confederate standpoint are best told in Lee's own words:

"The siege of Richmond was raised, and the object of a campaign which had been prosecuted, after months of preparation, at an enormous expenditure of men and money, completely frustrated. More than 10,000 prisoners, including officers of rank, 52 pieces of artillery and upwards of 35,000 stands of small arms were captured. The stores and supplies of every description which fell into our hands were great in amount and value, but small in comparison with those destroyed by the enemy. His losses in battle exceeded our own, as attested by the thousands of dead and wounded left on every field, while his subsequent inaction shows in what condition the survivors reached the protection to which they fled."

Military authorities agree that while McClellan's retreat was conducted in a masterly manner, he was culpable for the conditions which made it necessary. Strangely enough, the failure of the Peninsula campaign did not weaken the confidence of the President or the war department in McClellan. He immediately asked for fifty thousand additional troops and within a few days increased this demand to one hundred thousand. A call was issued for three hundred thousand more volunteers, and such troops

as could be spared from other localities were ordered to join the Army of the Potomac.

3. Pope's Campaign in Virginia.— After Jackson's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley, the forces under McDowell, Banks and Fremont were consolidated into the

BATTLEFIELD, BULL RUN
The scene of the last charge of the Pennsylvania reserves in the second Battle of Bull Run, August 30, 1862.

Army of Virginia and placed under the command of General Pope, who had attained distinction by his successes in the West. Pope was to protect Washington and Maryland and to coöperate with McClellan in the capture of Richmond. Consequently, he advanced and took a strong position on the Rapidan River.

The Army of Virginia and the Army of the Potomac were now far apart, and the Confederates were in such a position that they could strike either before it could be reën-

forced. General Halleck saw the danger and on the third of August ordered that reënforcements be sent from the Army of the Potomac to General Pope, and that the remainder of McClellan's army be withdrawn to the vicinity of the capital. In order that this movement might be safely made, he ordered Pope to make a strong demonstration along the Rapidan. Lee, discovering the ruse, decided to attack Pope before McClellan's forces could join him, and sent "Stonewall" Jackson to attack him from the west and Longstreet and Hood to advance against his center and left wing. Thus menaced, the Federals withdrew to the Rappahannock and, aided by a rapid rise in the river, prevented the Confederates from crossing. Meanwhile, the Army of the Potomac was safely on its way by water to Alexandria.

McClellan had been strongly opposed to removing from the Peninsula and when he learned that Lee had sent a large part of his forces under his leading generals against Pope, he begged to be allowed to attack Richmond; but Halleck would not listen to a change of plans. Lee therefore was able to concentrate nearly his whole force against Pope, while Jackson severed the Federal commander's line of communication with Washington and captured his stores at Manassas. On August 30 the two armies confronted each other on the old battlefield of Bull Run. Although Pope knew that reënforcements from McClellan's army were on the way and would reach him within a few hours and that his position was so

strong that Lee would not attack, he foolishly advanced and forced a battle. His orders to some of the corps commanders did not reach them as he intended, especially those to Porter, whose troops were to lead the attack; confusion reigned in the Federal ranks, and they

BLOODY LANE, ANTIETAM

On September 17, 1863, this road was held by Confederates under D. H. Hill, but was captured after several hours' terrific fighting by Sumner's Federals, whose loss was more than one-third their number.

were forced back along the entire line. Before night the retreat became a rout. The fleeing troops were met by Franklin's and Sumner's brigades of the Army of the Potomac, but too late. Pope's campaign had ended in disaster.

4. ANTIETAM. — After the second battle at Bull Run, the Army of Virginia was consolidated with the Army of the Potomac under the command of McClellan, and the

entire forces were concentrated within the defenses of Washington. The residents of the capital were panic-stricken and in constant expectation of an attack, but their alarm was needless. Lee was too good a soldier to assault a city so strongly defended as the city of Washington. Instead, he decided upon a bold stroke, hoping that he might thereby gain a border state, win a victory in the enemy's country and make that victory the basis of dictating terms of peace. The elections for the next House of Representatives were soon to take place. Could the Confederates gain important victories before these elections, a House of Representatives might be returned to the Thirty-eighth Congress which would favor the independence of the Southern states.

Lee therefore decided to invade Maryland and thence, if conditions were favorable, proceed to Pennsylvania. He issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Maryland, hoping to win them to the Confederate cause; but in this he was disappointed, for it received little attention. Still, advancing along the Hagerstown Road, the advance corps of the Confederate army under Jackson entered Frederick on September 6. The advance of the Confederate army of sixty thousand veterans under three such commanders as Lee, Jackson and Longstreet, naturally caused alarm in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Harrisburg and other cities, since from his position at Frederick, Lee could apparently march upon any one of them at will. However, he was soon beset with the difficulty of securing

subsistence for his troops, for the people of Maryland were unwilling to sell produce for Confederate script, the only money with which the commanders could pay.

There was a detachment of Federal troops at Harper's Ferry, and in order that the expedition of the Confederates might succeed it was necessary that this post be captured. Jackson with twenty thousand men was therefore dispatched to accomplish this task.

BURNSIDE'S BRIDGE, ANTIETAM CREEK
Scene of a terrific combat September 17, 1862, when a part of Burnside's forces, after an all day's fight, gained a passage of the creek.

The Federal troops, which had begun their march northward September 5, proceeded with caution because McClellan and Halleck both suspected Lee's expedition into Maryland to be a ruse. As soon, however, as his purpose was known, the army advanced rapidly. Upon September 12 one of Lee's orders for capturing Harper's Ferry came into

McClellan's possession, and he acted upon it with more promptness and vigor than he had before shown.

Knowing that if his army could close in upon Lee before Jackson's return there was good prospect of destroying or capturing most of the Army of Northern Virginia, he ordered an immediate attack. Lee's forces were overtaken at South Mountain, where the Confederate army took position in a pass which could easily be defended against

OLD DUNKER CHURCH, ANTIETAM
The scene of a stubborn contest between the forces of "Stonewall" Jackson and "Fighting Joe" Hooker, on September 16, 1862.

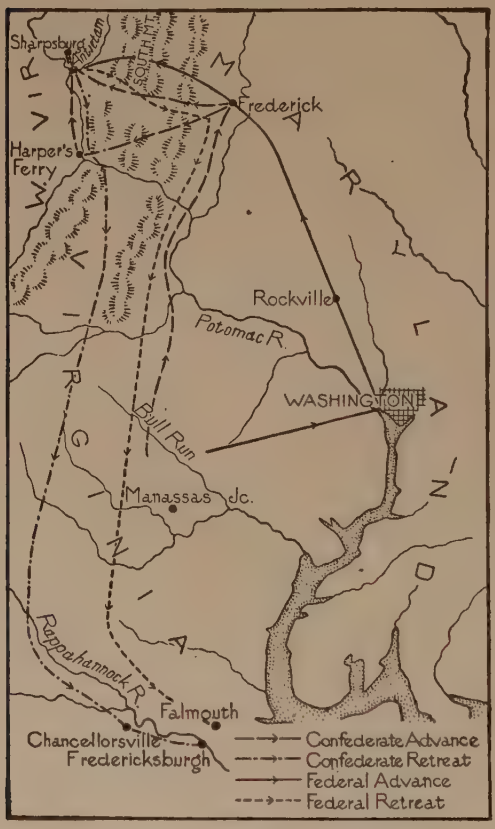
a superior force. The battle continued for several hours, and McClellan had nearly his entire army on the ground before nightfall. However, Lee managed to escape under cover of darkness and repaired to Sharpsburg, where he took a strong position on Antietam Creek. He was here confronted by McClellan, on September 15. Instead of attacking at once, McClellan again delayed, and the first

vigorous action was at daylight on the seventeenth, when Hooker made a front attack, which was well sustained by the Confederates. The action soon became general and continued almost throughout the day; at nightfall it seemed that the Federal forces were to gain a decisive victory, but at the crucial moment "Stonewall" Jackson's force came upon the field and checked the advance of the Federal troops.

Antietam was called by General Longstreet the bloodiest single day's battle of the war. The Federal loss was twelve thousand five hundred and that of the Confederates over eleven thousand. From a military point of view, it was a drawn battle; but it stopped Lee's advance and compelled him to retrace his steps; it gave Lincoln the occasion to announce his forthcoming proclamation of emancipation (Sections 539, 541), and its moral effect upon the Army of the Potomac and upon the people of the North was that of a great victory. This, however, was somewhat clouded by the loss of over twelve thousand men captured by Jackson at Harper's Ferry.

5. Fredericksburg.—Antietam was the last of McClellan's battles. He had repeatedly been urged to advance against Lee, and when his dilatoriness allowed the Confederate army to cross the Blue Ridge Mountains after the Battle of Antietam and place itself between the Army of the Potomac and Richmond, the President decided to relieve him of command. On October 26 the Federal troops began to cross the Potomac, and within a week the

last division was over. The army had been reorganized, was well equipped and numbered one hundred sixteen thousand men, while Lee's army consisted of about eighty thousand. On November 7 Burnside, much against his will, was ordered to take command. Under the circumstances the order was probably a mistake. McClellan was universally loved and trusted by his troops and commanding officers and it would require months for another commander to gain their confidence to the same degree, and without that confidence the army would be defeated before it began a battle.



LEE'S FIRST INVASION OF THE NORTH

Burnside began a rapid march down the Rappahannock

and Lee took a parallel route. The converging point of the armies was the village of Fredericksburg, situated in a valley and protected by high bluffs on the south side of the river. Lee reached the destination first, and consequently had opportunity to occupy and fortify the bluffs, making his position practically impregnable. By December 12 the Federal forces had crossed the Rappahannock, and on the thirteenth Burnside advanced to the attack. Had he concentrated his forces upon Lee's right wing he might have won the day, but, instead, he attempted to carry the works on Marye's Heights, the stronghold of the Confederate position. The attack resulted in useless slaughter, but only after six assaults had failed did the Federal troops retire. Their loss was over twelve thousand five hundred, while that of the Confederates was about five thousand four hundred.

MARYE'S HEIGHTS, NEAR FREDERICKSBURG
The scene of two desperate conflicts in the Civil War.

538. The Center.—During the summer the Confederates made an effort to regain what they had lost in Kentucky and Tennessee. Bands of guerrillas overran the eastern portion of these states, stealing and destroying property and occasionally taking possession of a small town. In this way Lebanon and Henderson in Kentucky and Mur-

freesboro, Tenn., came into the possession of the Confederates. Forrest and Morgan were the most daring of these guerrilla chieftains and through their numerous expeditions acquired a national reputation for boldness and swiftness in attack.

General Bragg gathered an army of about forty-five thousand, marched around Buell, who was east of Corinth, occupied Chattanooga and advanced northward in Tennessee. One division of his army under Kirby Smith defeated the Federal force at Richmond, Ky., and another portion occupied Lexington, whence they advanced to a position commanding Louisville, reaching this at about the same time that Lee invaded Maryland. However, Buell had preceded Bragg and had in and about Louisville an army of one hundred thousand, many of whom were raw recruits. The two armies met at Perryville, October 8, and after a hard day's fight Bragg retreated,

WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS

eventually through Cumberland Gap. Meantime, on October 3 and 4, the Confederates under Van Dorn had attacked the Federal force under Rosecrans at Corinth, but had been repulsed, suffering considerable loss.

Rosecrans, who had succeeded Buell as commander of the Army of the Cumberland, determined to advance toward Chattanooga with an army of about forty thousand. Bragg, reënforced, returned to Tennessee early in November. The two armies met at Murfreesboro, where on the last day of the year a three days' battle began. During the first day the Confederates gained some advantage, but they failed to hold it, and Bragg was compelled to retreat from Murfreesboro, which was then occupied by the Federals. The latter, however, were so exhausted that they could not pursue, and both armies went into winter quarters.

539. Political Events. — 1. CONGRESS.—The Thirty-seventh Congress labored diligently and earnestly in the interests of the Union. The radical measures proposed, of which there were many, happily were defeated by the conservative majority. Among the important acts of this Congress were the Confiscation Act and the act legalizing the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. The latter gave a legal basis for the annoying and dangerous expansion of the president's authority during a time of war (Section 544); the former defined rebellion and attached a penalty to it. It also directed the president to seize the property of all military and civil officers of the

Southern Confederacy or of the states in rebellion against the government, and sixty days after a public warning to confiscate the property of all in rebellion against the United States or found aiding or abetting such rebellion. It also freed forever the slaves who should take refuge within the lines of the Union army, and it denied the protection of the Fugitive Slave Law to slaveholders in rebellion.

2. Public Sentiment and the Elections.—The difficulties besetting the administration were not all of a military nature. The political situation became more complex and unsatisfactory as the war progressed. The extraordinary tact and magnanimity of President Lincoln was constantly required to reconcile factions, not only in Congress but among his own cabinet advisers. Moreover, throughout the North, Southern sympathizers strained every effort to embarrass the government by their writings and public addresses and by openly rejoicing at every reverse of the Federal troops. The so-called "War Democrats," who had followed the administration in the early months of the war, became more and more meddlesome, until their attitude was a positive peril to the government. They constantly upbraided Lincoln for military defeats, held up to scorn his personality and policy and fomented discord and distrust among the people. This opposition and fault-finding was not confined to the Democrats; even the ranks of the Republicans were divided. Aside from the petty jealousies

and personal animosities which moved some of Lincoln's closest advisers, he had to contend with formidable opposition among the rank and file of his former supporters. The Abolitionists and other radicals found fault with his conservatism and demanded positive measures toward emancipating the slaves. The conservatives, on the other hand, believed that Lincoln was being led too rapidly by his radical friends. Meantime, Lincoln held steadfastly to his own policy. Believing that the success of his cause depended upon the loyalty of the border states, he refused to take aggressive measures towards emancipation until he was supported by an adequate public sentiment. However, on September 22, the President announced the forthcoming Emancipation Proclamation. It was too late to win the enthusiastic support of the radicals and for a time alienated his conservative supporters. The fall elections,

CONFEDERATE MONUMENT, SHEPHERDSTOWN

A monument to the Confederate soldiers who fought in the Battle of Antietam, near Shepherdstown, and in other minor engagements in that vicinity.

therefore, were strongly against the administration. New York elected Horatio Seymour, the Democratic candidate for governor, by a plurality of over ten thousand; Illinois went Democratic by over seven thousand; the Republican majorities were reduced in nearly all the Northern states. The President's moderate policy was vindicated by his success in the border states, which stood loyally by the administration. The new House of Representatives contained seventy-three Democrats, an increase of twenty-nine; still the Republicans retained a working majority in both branches of Congress.

3. Foreign Affairs.—Abroad, the year had been unfavorable to the United States. The hatred of Republican institutions manifested in England and France had not abated. Both governments were eagerly looking for an opportunity to interfere in behalf of the Confederacy. The English correspondents with the Confederate army took every occasion to herald a success of these troops as an important step in the downfall of the American republic. During the year, Confederate privateers were built and fitted out in English waters. The British government claimed that it did not know the purpose nor the destination of these vessels, and later evidence seems to prove the truth of that declaration. However, at the time, the United States had reason to believe that these ships were constructed and armed with the silent consent of the government. While no rupture occurred, the relation between the nations became decidedly strained.

QUESTIONS

What events led foreigners to doubt the value of United States securities? Summarize the advantages and disadvantages of large issues of legal tender paper money? Which do you believe to be the more satisfactory source of revenue—import duties or internal taxes? Why? What is one advantage of an income tax?

Why was the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson important? What was the most important fact in connection with the operations about New Madrid and Island No. 10? Why is it important?

Characterize Burnside's campaign and compare it with McClellan's. What was Burnside's greatest battle? Criticise his management of it.

What was the net result of the fighting in "the center" in 1862? What was the probable purpose of Bragg's expedition to the Ohio? Why did it fail? What was the most important battle of the year in "the center"?

What does the Constitution say concerning the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* (art. I, sec. 9, cl. 2)? State the principal provisions of the Conscription Act.

Explain the general foreign hostility to the United States. What nations, if any, were friendly to the United States?

Why was New Orleans of especial importance to the Confederacy? What made its capture a notable feat? Why was the "duel in Hampton Roads the most far-reaching event of the century"? Are warships now constructed on the model of either the *Merrimac* or the *Monitor*?

In what qualities did McClellan excel as a general? In what ways was he deficient? What advantages had McClellan's plan for the Virginia campaign over Lincoln's? What was the net result of the Peninsula campaign?

What was the central purpose of Lee's campaign in Virginia in 1862? Did he accomplish it? If so, how, and if not, why not? What was his purpose in invading Maryland? State the immediate effects of the Battle of Antietam. Give reasons for the success or failure of Lee's first invasion.

REFERENCES

Rhodes, in his *History of the United States*, treats in detail both the political and military events of this most important period of the war, vol. iii, pp. 560 to the end; vol. iv, pp. 1-198. A brief summary is also given in Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, pp. 223-226 and 227-230; Channing's *Student's History of the United States*, pp. 529-539. The principal features of the military campaigns of the year are briefly

but clearly discussed in Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War*, pp. 25-122. Consult also Grant's *Personal Memoirs*, vol. i, pp. 282-421.

There are many works of American fiction which deal with the Civil War, among the best being Cable's *The Cavalier*, Crane's *The Little Regiment*, Eggleston's *Southern Soldier Stories*, Frederick's *The Copperhead* and *Marséna*, and Benson's *Who Goes There?* and *A Friend with the Countersign.*

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Battle of Mill Spring	Jan. 19, 1862
Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson	Feb. 6-16, 1862
Legal Tender Act passed	Mar., 1862
Battle of Pea Ridge	Mar. 7, 1862
First fight of ironclads	Mar. 9, 1862
Peninsula campaign begun	Mar. 11, 1862
Battle of Shiloh	Apr. 6 and 7, 1862
Capture of Island No. 10	Apr. 8, 1862
Capture of New Orleans	Apr. 25, 1862
"Stonewall" Jackson's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley	Apr. to May 25, 1862
Capture of Corinth	May 30, 1862
Battle of Fair Oaks	May 31, 1862
Battle of Mechanicsville, opening of "Seven Days' Battles"	June 26, 1862
Battle of Gaines's Mill	June 27, 1862
Battle of Savage's Station	June 29, 1862
Battle of Fraser's Farm	June 30, 1862
Battle of Malvern Hill	July 1, 1862
End of Peninsula campaign	July 8, 1862
Second Battle of Bull Run	Aug. 30, 1862
Battle of South Mountain	Sept. 14, 1862
Battle of Antietam	Sept. 16 and 17, 1862
Emancipation Proclamation announced	Sept. 22, 1862
Lee's first invasion of the North begun	Sept. 26, 1862
Bragg's invasion of Kentucky	Sept. and Oct., 1862
Confederate assault upon Corinth	Oct. 3 and 4, 1862
Battle of Perryville	Oct. 8, 1862
McClellan succeeded by Burnside	Nov. 7, 1862
Battle of Fredericksburg	Dec. 13, 1862
Battle of Murfreesboro	Dec. 31, 1862

CHAPTER V

FROM CHANCELLORSVILLE TO CHATTANOOGA

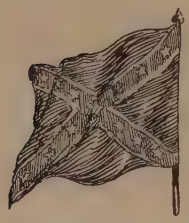
1863

Suggestions for Study.—In the year 1863 the Union armies made their first important progress. Three campaigns were of paramount importance. The efforts of the Federals in the East were directed toward the capture of the Confederate capital; in the extreme West toward the capture of Vicksburg and the opening of the Mississippi River; in the center toward the recovery of the states of Kentucky and Tennessee and indirectly the capture of Chattanooga. Consequently, each of the three Confederate armies was compelled to act upon the defensive, but each, in turn, attempted an offensive movement for the purpose of relieving the Confederate strongholds of the danger of siege and capture. All the campaigns emphasize the fact too often overlooked by the superficial reader, that great successes are gained in war only by great sacrifice. Vicksburg was won only after two costly attempts had failed; the Union victory at Chattanooga followed the Union disaster at Chickamauga; Chancellorsville preceded Gettysburg.

The student should keep constantly in mind the fact that the year 1863 was to witness the turning of the tide of victory, and should endeavor to find the causes which were operating to that end. Gettysburg has been called "the turning-point of the Rebellion." In your study of the campaign of which it was the culmination, seek to find to what extent such a judgment is warranted. Was Lee justified in taking such great risk to attain the end which he sought?

Events in the West have brought into prominence the man who was to lead the Union armies to final victory. In Grant's work up to this time, what characteristics and purposes have been disclosed which were likely to win him greater fame in the following years? Compare the methods of Grant and Lee, and decide wherein each excelled. Study the lives, not only of these great generals but of their subordinates and assistants, Jackson, Johnston, Sherman, Thomas, Longstreet, Hancock.

540. A Summary and a Forecast.—The closing days of the year 1862 were the darkest period of the war for the Union. The Army of the Potomac had been defeated and blocked; all plans against the Confederate capital had failed; Sherman and Grant had striven in vain to capture the stronghold at Vicksburg. The Union armies had fought valiantly against the stubborn Confederate defense of the central states of Tennessee and Kentucky and had gained but a slight advantage. The fall elections had shown a decided reaction in favor of the peace, or anti-administration, forces.



CONFEDERATE WAR FLAG

Contrarily, the prospects of the Confederates were brighter than at any time before or after. They had apparently proven their ability to cope with their antagonists, under even the most trying conditions. They had developed commanders who had displayed military skill of the highest order and who had repeatedly outwitted the Union generals. Their cause was never more popular in Europe, and it seemed almost certain that the Confederacy would soon be recognized by both England and France.

However, to the careful observer signs were not lacking which foretold the ultimate failure of the Southern cause. During the summer and fall of 1862 the Confederate armies had made a concerted offensive movement extending from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. But Lee had been defeated at Antietam and forced to abandon his

first invasion of the North; Bragg had been checked and compelled to evacuate Murfreesboro; Van Dorn had failed to pierce the Federal lines at Corinth. At this time the Federal forces were in their weakest state, while the Confederate army was at the point of its highest efficiency.

541. The Emancipation Proclamation.—True to his word (Section 539, 2), in spite of political and military reverses and the almost irresistible pressure of political friends and foes alike, on January 1, 1863, President Lincoln announced his Emancipation Proclamation, ordering and declaring "that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states [previously enumerated] are, and henceforth shall be, free." At the same time he enjoined upon the freed negroes to "abstain from all violence" and "to labor faithfully for reasonable wages."

This proclamation immediately aroused the most bitter controversy. It was admitted even by its friends to be beyond any authority expressly conferred by the Constitution or laws. It was justified by them upon the grounds of military necessity, which gave the president, as commander in chief of the United States army under the Constitution, unlimited powers in every direction. He had taken oath, Lincoln himself declared, to preserve the nation and defend the Constitution; therefore, measures "otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation." He

soon announced a policy, moreover, of which emancipation by proclamation was but a part. It contemplated the strictly legal abolition of slavery in the loyal states by compensating the owners and thereafter colonizing

SIGNING OF THE PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION
A painting by Frank Carpenter, in the Capitol, Washington. The portraits from left to right are of Stanton, Chase, Lincoln, Welles, Smith, Seward, Blair and Bates.

the negroes outside of the United States. But Congress ignored his suggestions, and for lack of power he was unable to execute his plans.

The net results of the Emancipation Proclamation are hard to estimate. It doubtless led Southerners to feel increased devotion for their cause and to labor even more earnestly for independence from a government which they believed thus sought to add servile insurrection to a war of subjugation. On the other hand, it was a message of liberty to the negroes, thousands of whom

sought the American lines, in time became a courageous and effective fighting force and performed important garrison service. In the North it was held by Southern sympathizers and by the radical peace party as a new demonstration of the tyrannical and brutal policy of the administration, and it was denounced as unconstitutional, unnecessary and inhuman. However, it brought into sympathy with the administration the Abolitionists, who had before believed that the war was one for union at any cost, but who now saw that it was for liberty as well as union. In England it had an immediate and noticeable effect upon the sentiment of the common people, who, in spite of their material interests, which were suffering heavily by the blockade of the Confederate ports, enthusiastically endorsed the Union cause as the cause of free labor. Its influence was not so apparent upon the ruling class, but eventually even the hostile ministry was compelled to listen to public opinion, and before the end of the year 1863 its attitude toward the United States government had been decidedly modified.

542. The Admission of West Virginia.—Another important event favorable to the Union cause occurred on December 31, 1862. On that day Congress took the unprecedented step of admitting as a state to the Union forty counties in the western part of Virginia. The people of this section, being firmly opposed to secession from the Union, had practically seceded from their own state and had established an independent government. Congress recog-

nized this government as the only legitimate power in the State of Virginia, and gravely accepting as final its decision to divide the old state, admitted the counties under its actual jurisdiction as the State of West Virginia. This new state formed an effective barrier to the extension of Confederate influence northward from the border states and acted as a counteracting influence to the inimical activity of the citizens and government of eastern Virginia.

543. Finances.—In spite of the issue of millions of dollars in paper money, at the beginning of the year 1863 the treasury was again almost empty, the pay of the army was from three to five months in arrears and the expenses of the government were running nearly two million dollars a day beyond receipts. Congress, under the pressure of circumstances, again resorted to the issue of legal tender notes to pay the soldiers and sailors, and a little later authorized the issue of nine hundred million dollars of interest-bearing legal tender treasury notes, non-interest-bearing United States notes and fractional currency. This measure was supplemented by the sale of bonds, payments being allowed in the legal tender notes just issued. By judicious advertising and by appeals to the

A UNION SOLDIER
In campaign uniform.

patriotism of the people, this popular loan was made a success. Finally, in February, Congress passed a national banking law[1] which at the time improved the national credit, and proved of the very greatest advantage at the close of the war by furnishing a source of issue of sufficient and secured paper money for the accommodation of trade. Thus in the course of a few months the financial condition of the government was more satisfactory than it had been at any time since the opening of the struggle.

GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE

544. Discontent in the North. — 1. ARBITRARY ARRESTS. — The government, while generally successful in its war policy, was encountering tremendous opposition to its political methods, which were widely and somewhat justly regarded as inexcusable even in time of war. The administration, constantly harassed by the opposition of prominent newspapers and public men of both parties, resorted to arrest and imprisonment to silence their attacks.

[1] This law, as supplemented by an act of June, 1864, forms the foundation of our present national banking system.

By virtue of his authority as commander-in-chief of the army and under the law of March, 1862, President Lincoln and his subordinates, Seward and Stanton, ordered to prison for their disloyal utterances prominent men throughout the North in states not occupied by either army and not under military law. The prisoners were in nearly every case deprived of the benefit of *habeas corpus* and were often confined for weeks and months without being allowed to defend themselves in court. This policy was enthusiastically supported by General Burnside,[1] commander of the Department of the Ohio, who ordered the arrest and confinement of "Copperheads" for the most trivial offenses and upon extremely meager evidence.[2]

2. Draft Riots.—The popular indignation caused by the arbitrary course of the administration was intensified by the Conscription Act, which became law March 3, 1863. Volunteering had almost ceased, owing to the number of business opportunities opened by the legislation of Congress, to the unnatural demand for labor caused by

[1] Among his arbitrary acts was the suppression of the Chicago *Times*, an influential Democratic organ. The order was revoked by President Lincoln after urgent appeals from prominent Republicans and Democrats throughout the Northwest.

[2] One of the famous victims of General Burnside's orders was C. L. Vallandigham, a conspicuous Ohio Democrat and member of Congress from 1857 to 1863. As the war progressed, he became known as the most bitter opponent of the administration and the most extreme Northern sympathizer with the Confederacy. He was arrested by order of Burnside, tried by a military commission, convicted of uttering disloyal sentiments and sentenced to close imprisonment during the continuance of the war. The sentence was commuted to banishment to the Confederacy by President Lincoln. Vallandigham fled from the Confederate States to Canada and while there was nominated for governor of Ohio by the Democrats. After a bitter contest he was defeated by the Union party candidate, Brough, a War Democrat, by a majority of nearly 100,000, an event which marked the beginning of the overwhelming ascendency of Union sentiment in the North.

previous enlistments for the army and to the tales of hardship and disaster from the front. To prevent the decline in the enrollment of the army Congress felt obliged to pass an act by which any man of military age was made liable to be drafted into the service. Not only was there violent opposition to the principle of the law, but its administration was justly condemned on the ground of partisanship and inequality. In New York it was true, as claimed by Democratic leaders, that Democratic wards and districts suffered much more heavily at the hands of the conscription agents than Republican wards of equal population. As a result of this dissatisfaction the numerous "peace party" in New York City, aided by the violent and vicious element, gathered in mobs which held the city at their mercy, defied both city and state authorities, burnt and demolished the Federal recruiting offices, blockaded the streets and practically compelled the cessation of business for four days, from July 13 to July 16. The Federal government took vigorous steps to uphold its authority, however, and soon the work of drafting was allowed to progress peaceably.

545. Military Events in the East.—1. HOOKER IN COMMAND.—Meanwhile the status of military affairs was becoming even more unsatisfactory than the political situation. The Army of the Potomac had been completely demoralized by the foolhardy and disastrous Battle of Fredericksburg. The evident incapacity of General Burnside and the total failure of the second attempt of the

Federal troops to capture Richmond had destroyed the little respect which the army had retained for their commander. As Burnside's successor, President Lincoln named "Fighting Joe" Hooker, one of the most popular generals in the army, a man who had displayed genuine skill in subordinate commands and whose record was clear of failure. He at once set to work to reorganize his forces and to restore the discipline of the army. In a few months his command was in admirable condition and spirit.

JOSEPH HOOKER
[From a photograph from life.]

2. Chancellorsville.—Hooker's force was at Falmouth on the Rappahannock, nearly opposite Fredericksburg, the seat of Lee's main army. The Federal force of 130,000 men was confronted by not more than 70,000, but the latter were filled with confidence born of success and of faith in their commander. They were, in the words of another, "the hardiest troops which ever laughed

at hunger, cold or danger." Hooker outlined a simple but wise campaign. Sedgwick forced a passage of the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg, while Hooker himself, with some 40,000 men, crossed the river above Lee's works and took up a strong position at Chancellorsville before Lee was able to head him off. In spite of this ad-

BATTLEFIELD, CHANCELLORSVILLE
A general view of the scene of the battle of May 2 and 3, 1863.

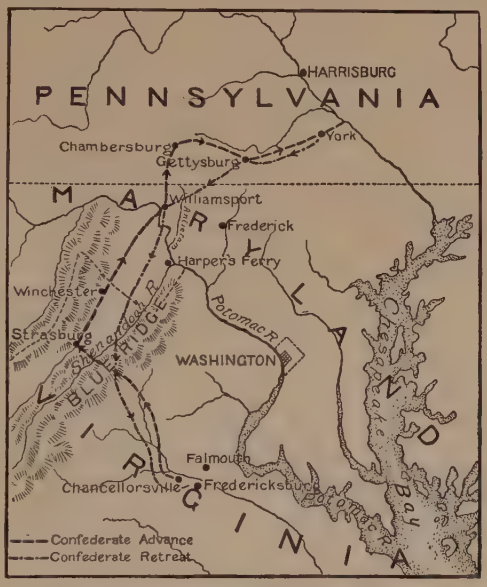
vantage, Hooker hesitated, and when he began his attack on the following day he was met by brave resistance on the part of Lee's army. Against the protests of his corps commanders, Hooker suddenly ordered a retreat and took up his position in the Wilderness, a vast field covered with a tangle of shrubbery and second-growth timber. Lee, fearing little from his opponent in that situation, divided his army, sending "Stonewall" Jackson with 15,000 men on a wide detour around Hooker's right

wing to attack from the rear, while Lee led the assault in front. Jackson accomplished his mission, almost annihilated Howard's corps of the Federals and threw the whole army into confusion. Near the close of the battle of May 2, Jackson was mortally wounded, but his men, then fighting for vengeance as well as victory, attacked with desperation and drove the Federals back toward the Rappahannock. Sedgwick, meanwhile, had been ordered by Hooker to come up from Fredericksburg, but after gallantly capturing Marye's Heights, the scene of the awful slaughter of Burnside's army some months before, was confronted by 20,000 fresh troops, and after brilliant resistance, was forced to recross the river. Hooker soon followed, again retiring to Falmouth. The Federal losses during the four days' battle were over 17,000, while those of the Confederates were about 12,000.

From the standpoint of the North, the battle served to deepen the gloom which recent events had thrown about the people, the officials and the army. Another commander had been tried and found wanting, and Lee was still master of the situation in Virginia. From the Confederate standpoint the victory was overshadowed by the loss of one of the greatest generals in the Southern army. In every situation in which he had been placed, "Stonewall" Jackson had conducted his troops with skill and daring, had executed with success every task with which he had been entrusted. Though he had never been tried in command of large forces, or in the conduct of great campaigns,

his uniform success as a lieutenant placed him, with Lee and Grant, far above every other commander on either side.

3. Lee's Second Invasion.—The series of brilliant victories of the Confederate armies at Manassas, Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville caused the South to become delirious with joy. Nothing seemed too great to be accomplished by their valiant chieftain and his boys in gray. Even Lee himself, usually calm and judicious, though aggressive, was influenced by this spirit of reckless optimism. With the approval of President Davis he set out upon a second invasion of Pennsylvania. It was full of hazards, but his plans were well laid and the successful achievement of his purpose would have been worth the risk. He hoped, by threatening Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia, to relieve Richmond by drawing the



LEE'S SECOND INVASION OF THE NORTH

Federal forces out of Virginia; to win such a sweeping victory over the Army of the Potomac that the whole North would be at his mercy and would be compelled to sue for peace before he withdrew from its territory; or, at the very least, to draw Grant from his operations against Vicksburg.

GENERAL GEORGE G. MEADE

Lee crept slyly northward along the valleys of the Rappahannock and Susquehanna rivers, at the same time retaining hold of the position at Fredericksburg, until Hooker, failing to receive permission to strike Lee's right wing while thus weakened, began to follow him on the opposite side of the Blue Ridge. The Federals concentrated at Frederick, but the Confederate army had already moved into Pennsylvania and from Chambersburg was threatening Harrisburg, and even Philadelphia. Meantime, Hooker, who had been constantly hampered by General Halleck, requested to be relieved of his com-

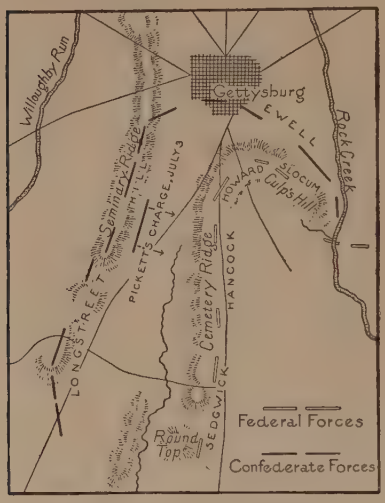
mand, and though the crucial moment of the campaign was at hand, his resignation was accepted.

General Meade was appointed his successor; and, being allowed the greatest freedom by his friend Halleck, he advanced rapidly into Pennsylvania, compelling Lee to

GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD
A view from the national cemetery on Cemetery Hill.

concentrate his army and to prepare for an engagement. Meade carefully chose a strong defensive position, of which the extreme left was the village of Gettysburg. Lee also desired to get possession of this town, and on the morning of July 1 part of Lee's army under Hill met the Federals under Buford and Reynolds and after a severe engagement compelled them to retreat with heavy loss.

4. The Battle of Gettysburg.—In preparation for the crucial contest which was obviously close at hand, the Federal generals (the credit being claimed alike for Buford, Hancock and Howard), after reorganizing, chose a remarkably strong position upon a line of bluffs south of the village and extending from Culp's Hill through Cemetery Ridge to Roundtop. Lee, disregarding Longstreet's suggestion that he avoid contest at the time and attempt to maneuver Meade from his position, but yielding to the entreaties of regimental officers and the anxiety of his confident troops, decided to give battle and disposed his army along Seminary Ridge, parallel to, and about a mile distant from, the Federals. His first attempt was to capture Roundtop, and Longstreet led the assault. After a desperate contest the Federals retained possession of the hill, but Longstreet gained an advantage in position. At about the same time Ewell obtained a foothold on Culp's Hill. The result of the day's fighting was clearly with the Confederates, but Lee overestimated his success



THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

and the extent to which he had disorganized the Federal lines.

On the morning of July 3, Meade made a desperate effort to regain Culp's Hill and was partially successful. Lee, having failed to pierce the Federal line on either flank, was compelled to attack the center, and a furious cannonade was directed against it during the afternoon. After two hours, when for lack of ammunition the Federal guns temporarily ceased firing, Lee ordered Pickett at the head of some fifteen thousand men to make a direct front charge against the center of the Union lines, where General Hancock was posted. The valiant, almost reckless, assault was met by the most brilliant resistance; the Confederate column, though torn and crushed, pressed steadily forward up the slope until overwhelmed by numbers; then

REYNOLDS MONUMENT, GETTYSBURG

Erected in the national, cemetery to the memory of Major General John F. Reynolds, who was killed in the first day's battle, July 1, 1863.

it slowly retired, crumbling before the cool, incessant fire of Federal marksmen. For a moment, indeed, a handful of the Confederates actually gained the works, but the few survivors were soon driven back and joined their gallant comrades in retreat. Rhodes well says, "Decry war as we may and ought, 'breathes there a man with soul so dead' who would not thrill with emotion to claim for his countrymen the men who made that charge and the men who met it?" Pickett's charge up Cemetery Hill was the last resort of a defeated army. Lee in the next two days prepared his forces for a general retreat. Though he moved deliberately, even slowly, from the territory of Pennsylvania, Meade made little effort to overtake him or to offer battle. His defenders declare that he rightly preferred to hold what he had won rather than to venture another great loss for a small gain.

GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD
View from Seminary Ridge.

In the Battle of Gettysburg, which has been called the most stubborn conflict of modern times, the Federal losses in slain, wounded and captured were 23,000 men out of

93,000 engaged, while those of the Confederates were about 20,000 out of 80,000. The total loss of the two armies, nearly twenty-five per cent, is the greatest on record for a battle in which so many were engaged.

GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD

Showing statue of General John Buford, a gallant Federal cavalry leader who opened the Battle of Gettysburg on July 1, 1863. On the right is a monument to the Second Maine Battery.

Lee retreated into Virginia and Meade leisurely followed; after some sparring back and forth for advantageous positions, both armies went into winter quarters near their former positions.

546. Military Events in the West and South. — 1. VICKSBURG.—Meantime, Grant had been placed in command of all the forces along the Mississippi River. His object was to free that river from Confederate control. Sherman, with a part of his command, was sent to attack Pemberton's right wing at Haines's Bluff; McClernand and McPherson, with most of the rest of the army, moved south along the west bank of the river; Grant himself shortly followed the latter. At the same time eight of

Commodore Porter's gunboats, which were lying above Vicksburg, ran the batteries and commenced a vigorous but ineffectual bombardment of Grand Gulf, the left extremity of the Confederate line. On April 30 a crossing was effected just above Bruinsburg. On May 1 the vanguard of the army met the Confederates at Port Gibson and won a decided victory, which caused the evacuation of Grand Gulf. Hearing that General Joe Johnston had reached Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, on his way to Vicksburg, Grant determined to prevent the junction of his forces with Pemberton's; consequently, after winning a slight success at Raymond, he took Jackson, compelling the Confederates to retreat northwest toward Clinton, whither Pemberton was also moving. Grant overtook and defeated the latter at Champion's Hill and again at the Big Black River, finally compelling him to retire within the city of Vicksburg, leaving the surrounding hills, for which Grant and Sherman had fought so long, at last in their possession.

THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

Grant made one desperate direct assault. This failing, he established a siege of the city, with almost continuous bombardment. The condition of the soldiers and the citizens in Vicksburg soon became desperate. Rations were halved, then quartered. The flesh of horses, mules and even rats was at length resorted to for food. At last, on July 4, when hope of relief was lost, Pemberton surrendered 29,500 men, 170 cannon and 50,000 small arms of the latest European patterns. The Confederate casualties during the campaign had been fully 10,000, and the total Federal loss was but little less. General Sherman spoke

PEMBERTON'S HEADQUARTERS, VICKSBURG
In a cave under this house Pemberton sought refuge during the Federal bombardment of the city.

SURRENDER MONUMENT, VICKSBURG
An upright cannon marking the spot where Grant and Pemberton negotiated the surrender of the city, July 4, 1863.

the sentiments of the whole army and country when he exclaimed on the day of the surrender, "The best fourth of July since 1776!" To the people of the North, who received the news soon after the word of the victory at Gettysburg, the fall of the Confederate citadel was the cause of hilarious rejoicing.

2. Banks at Port Hudson.—Late in 1862 General N. P. Banks had sailed from New York with 20,000 men and had superseded General Butler in command of New

CONFEDERATE FORT, PORT HUDSON
All that remains of a fortress which protected the extreme right of the Confederate position.

Orleans. He immediately opened an aggressive campaign to wrest the lower Mississippi from Confederate control. He sent 10,000 men to Baton Rouge and then proceeded

against Port Hudson. With the coöperation of Farragut's fleet, he blocked the Red River, down which supplies were being sent into the city, establishing a close siege, and at length made several vigorous assaults. The fall of Vicksburg turned the scale and the Confederate general Gardner soon surrendered a force of about 4,000 men. Within a few weeks the Mississippi River was an open waterway.

547. Military Events in the Center.—1. Preliminary.—During the first half of 1863 the great Army of the Cumberland under Rosecrans lay inactive at Murfreesboro, in spite of the splendid condition and spirit of the men. Finally, late in June, Rosecrans with some 70,000 men advanced and by a skilfully devised and well executed maneuver forced the Confederates to evacuate Shelbyville and move to Chattanooga. Bragg was about to collect his forces for an attack, but Rosecrans anticipated him, advanced and by threatening his rear compelled him to evacuate Chattanooga and retreat southward. To accomplish his purpose Rosecrans had rashly divided his army into three divisions, no two of which could unite in less than three days' time and then only with the greatest difficulty and danger.

2. The Battle of Chickamauga.—This was Bragg's opportunity to crush his opponent by falling upon each of these divisions in turn, but he allowed the favorable moment to pass, and within a few days the Federal army was concentrated in a position along Chickamauga Creek.

Bragg's army was arranged in almost a parallel formation on the opposite side of the creek. On September 19, Bragg vigorously attacked the Federal left wing under Thomas, without decisive result. The attack was resumed on the following morning. At about noon, when through an order of Rosecrans the Federal right wing was weakened by the absence of one division, the Confederates concentrated upon this spot, driving the Federal right and center from the field, along with Rosecrans and his staff. But Thomas remained immovable, there gallantly earning his famous title, "the Rock of Chickamauga." All day his veterans withstood the attack of double their number, and only at night slowly withdrew in good order to Rossville and thence to Chattanooga, where the shattered remnants of the army were successfully reorganized. Thomas's sturdy defense had greatly weakened Bragg's columns, and he was unable to follow up his victory.

BATTLEFIELD OF CHICKAMAUGA
View on Snodgrass Hill, near General Thomas's headquarters.

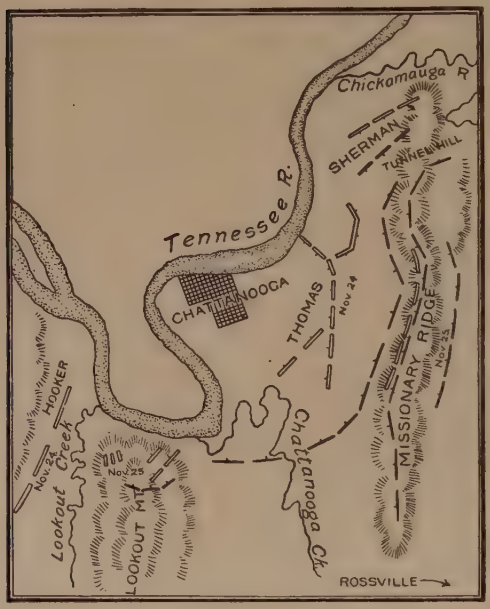
However, he was satisfied to hold Rosecrans secure in Chattanooga, where the Federals were practically in a state of siege. They were presently joined, moreover, by Hooker and 15,000 men from the Army of the Potomac, who, for the time being, could not be used but must be fed.

GEORGIA MONUMENT, CHICKAMAUGA
In the national military park on the scene of the Battle of Chickamauga. Erected by the State of Georgia to her sons who fought in that battle.

3. The Battles of Chattanooga. — In the Battle of Chickamauga Rosecrans had shown clearly his inability to command great movements. Grant, the hero of Vicksburg, therefore became commander of the Department of the Mississippi, which was made to include the Department of the Ohio and the Department of the Cumberland. Thomas superseded Rosecrans at the head of the Army of the Cumberland.

The Confederate army, 40,000 strong, was in a well fortified position extending from Tunnel Hill along Missionary Ridge and crossing the Chattanooga Valley to Lookout

Mountain. Grant's plan was simple, but well conceived. To Sherman, whom he had called from Vicksburg and in whom he had the greatest confidence, was assigned the most important task. He was to move along the north bank of the Tennessee River, cross at the mouth of Chickamauga Creek, attack the Confederates at the extreme end of Missionary Ridge and fight his way persistently along these bluffs.



THE BATTLES OF CHATTANOOGA

Thomas at the same time was to vigorously attack the center of the enemy and gradually advance in an effort to join Sherman. Meantime, Hooker was to attack the enemy in Lookout Valley and by movements similiar to Sherman's was to advance into Chattanooga Valley. Sherman reached Missionary Ridge two days later than he expected, on November 24, and after slight successes, his progress was obstructed by a gap

in the ridge, which was strongly fortified and stubbornly defended. Thomas in his first attack gained somewhat, while Hooker, in the famous "Battle above the Clouds," drove the enemy from Lookout Mountain. The next day, November 25, Hooker again advanced on the road toward Rossville. Thomas again made a frontal assault under orders to capture the works at the foot of Missionary Ridge. This was accomplished after a stubborn contest, and the veteran troops, confident and courageous, with a fighting spirit born of long service under their intrepid commander, refused to be stayed but pressed forward without orders under the leadership of gallant regimental officers. Climbing the hill in the face of an almost irresistible fire, they stormed the summit, captured the works and compelled the Confederates, thus overwhelmed in front and pressed on both flanks, to retire from the field. The valiant charge up Missionary Ridge has been equaled but once in American history—when Pickett's troops advanced to defeat on Cemetery Hill at Gettysburg.

Thus closed the campaign of 1863, with a series of victories for the Union and disasters for the Confederacy, which were never to be offset during the remainder of the conflict.

QUESTIONS

Contrast the condition and prospects of the South and North at the opening of 1863.

Was President Lincoln justified in freeing the slaves at the time and in the manner that he did? What were the chief results of emancipation from the standpoint of the Union? Of the South?

Why is fractional paper currency less serviceable than small coins?

What were the chief effects of the national banking laws of February, 1863, and June, 1864?

Did President Lincoln have power to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* without the authority of Congress?

Compare the plans and achievements of Hooker's campaign against Richmond with those of McClellan and Burnside. Compare Lee's first and second invasions in purpose, extent and results. Why is Gettysburg often called the turning-point of the war? In what respect was it a more decisive victory than Antietam? Give two reasons why the capture of Vicksburg was of peculiar advantage to the Union cause. Is the navigation of the Mississippi more or less important today than in 1860? Name two important facts in connection with the battles at Chattanooga. What two famous military feats were performed at that time? Compare the progress made by the two armies during the year 1863.

REFERENCES

The best detailed account of the year will probably be found in Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, vol. iv., pp. 210-423. The military campaigns, especially in the West, are described with many interesting details in Grant's *Personal Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 422 to the end, and vol. ii, pp. 1-88. Consult also *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, vol. iii; *Campaigns of the Civil War*, vols. vi, vii and viii, and Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War*, pp. 127-192. Morse's *Abraham Lincoln* (American Statesmen series), vol. ii, pp. 134-216, describes in an interesting way Lincoln's connection with political and military affairs. See also Hart's *Chase* (American Statesmen series), pp. 230-289. The financial problems and legislation of the time are clearly discussed in Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, chs. xii and xiii. Briefer and more general accounts of the whole period will be found in Channing's *Student's History*, pp. 537-546; Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, pp. 230-233. Hart's *Source Book* contains three interesting contemporary accounts of famous battles; see Nos. 121, 122 and 123.

Of the fiction dealing with this time, the following works will prove interesting: Cook's *Surry of Eagle's Nest*, a story of "Stonewall" Jackson; Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage*, which deals chiefly with the Battle of Chancellorsville; Harris's *Tales of Home Folks in Peace and War* and *On the Wings of Occasion*; S. Weir Mitchell's *Roland Blake* and *The Autobiography of a Quack*, and Oldham's *The Man from Texas*.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Admission of West Virginia	Dec. 31, 1862
Emancipation proclaimed	Jan. 1, 1863
Burnside superseded by Hooker	Jan. 23, 1863
National banking law passed	Feb., 1863
Conscription Act in force	Mar., 1863
Death of "Stonewall" Jackson	May 2, 1863
Battle of Chancellorsville	May 2 and 3, 1863
Lee's second invasion of the North begun	June, 1863
Battle of Vicksburg	July 4, 1863
Draft Riots in New York	July, 1863
Capture of Port Hudson	July, 1863
Battle of Chickamauga	Sept. 19, 1863
Battles of Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge	Nov. 24 and 25, 1863

CHAPTER VI

FROM CHATTANOOGA TO APPOMATTOX

1864-1865

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—In the study of the last period of the war, the student should make special effort to find the underlying cause for the failure of the Confederacy. Was it in the character of the people or of their society? Was it the lack of foreign support? Was it the pressure of economic conditions? If so, what caused these conditions? Was it a feat of arms? If so, what campaigns were most important in their effect and how was the end accomplished by the Federal armies?

Grant's campaign in Virginia is the last of several attempts to accomplish the same end—the destruction of Lee's army and the capture of Richmond. Seek to understand the reasons why Grant succeeded and others failed.

Try as far as possible to keep the whole field of war in view and notice the relation of each important movement to the grand campaign whose aim was to divide the Confederacy, crush its forces in the West and then to concentrate the whole power of the Union against Lee.

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548. Introductory.—The Thirty-eighth Congress convened December 7, 1863, and was greeted early in the session by a message from the chief executive. The spirit and contents of this document illustrate the change which had occurred in the outlook for the Union cause during the year which had passed. Briefly mentioning the gloomy state of affairs which existed at the beginning of the year, Lincoln proceeded to show how great had been the advantage won by the Union arms:

"The rebel borders are pressed still further back, and, by the complete opening of the Mississippi, the country dominated by the rebellion is divided into definite parts, with no practical communication between them."

The same cheerful view was reflected in an article by James Russell Lowell, in the *North American Review*:

"The chances of the war, which at one time seemed against us, are now greatly in our favor. The nation is more thoroughly united against any shameful or illusory peace than it ever was on any other question."

The secretary of war reported that volunteering "is going on in some states with much spirit. The indications are that the force required will in a great measure be raised by volunteering without draft."

"HIGH WATER MARK OF THE REBELLION"
The crest of Cemetery Hill, showing monuments marking the position of the 72nd and 106th Pennsylvania Volunteers at the time of Pickett's charge.

The secretary of the treasury stated, "Success quite beyond anticipation crowned the secretary in distributing the 5-20 loan in all parts of the country, as well as every other measure adopted by him for replenishing the treasury." With renewed devotion to their cause and renewed confidence in the outcome, the North entered upon the year 1864 with a courage and determination which it had not before shown.

549. Grant Appointed to the Chief Command.—The disasters which had followed the Union armies during the early years of the struggle were ascribed by the people and by Congress, with considerable justice, not so much to incompetence of commanders as to a lack of concert and coöperation. Lincoln, especially, from the beginning had longed for some one man of personal influence and power, preëminent ability and breadth of view, to whom he could assign the command of the United States armies with faith in his ability to achieve success. Such a man had been found at last in General U. S. Grant, who had been steadily gaining in popularity among his soldiers and the people and in the esteem of the authorities at Washington. On February 29, 1864, Congress revived the grade of lieutenant general in the army, and on March 1 Lincoln sent the name of General Grant to the Senate, where it was immediately confirmed. Grant was ordered to Washington, and on March 9 was entrusted with the fortunes of the Union cause by President Lincoln, who pledged to the new commander the earnest support of the Government, saying, "As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you."

Grant placed Sherman, his most trusted lieutenant in the West, as his own successor in charge of the Division of the Mississippi, and promoted McPherson to Sherman's command of the Department of the Tennessee.

550. The Grand Campaign.—Grant's plans contemplated two great movements. He himself took up his station

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ULYSSES S. GRANT

[From the original photograph taken in 1864, on the day on which he was commissioned lieutenant general of all the armies of the United States.]

with the Army of the Potomac under Meade; with one hundred twenty thousand men he was to pursue Lee's army, crush or capture it, and then push on to Richmond, the

FIELD OF LEE'S OPERATIONS

Confederate capital. Sherman with one hundred thousand men was to advance against Johnston's army, then concentrated at Dalton, and having accomplished its destruction, push on to Atlanta in an effort to control the important lines of traffic across the southern half of the Confederacy. As an aid to this second movement, Banks, with forty thousand men in the neighborhood of New Orleans, was to advance upon Mobile, the only great port of the gulf coast still in the hands of the Confederacy,

and from there was to coöperate with Sherman. The day set for the general advance was May 4.

551. The Wilderness.—For his own campaign Grant planned several minor movements. The Army of the Potomac, under Meade, supported by Burnside's corps, was to move upon Richmond from the east; Butler, with the Army of the James, was to move up that river secretly and be in readiness to coöperate with Meade; Sigel and Crook, who were in the Shenandoah Valley, were to cross the mountains into Virginia and threaten Richmond from the west. Grant's headquarters were at Culpeper Courthouse, north of the Rapidan River, and upon the opposite bank was Lee's Confederate force, commanded by the veterans Longstreet, Hill and Ewell, with a total of seventy thousand men.

Grant's advance was begun on the night of May 3, his purpose being to turn Lee's right flank. He crossed the Rapidan without a contest, Lee being confident that he could deal the Federals a terrible blow when they once became entangled in the Wilderness, where he had so completely baffled Hooker's army. On May 5, Warren, advancing, was met by Ewell, and the two armies had a long and stubborn battle, which resulted in little advantage to either contestant. Late in the day, Grant, for the first time realizing that he was confronting Lee's main army, ordered Hancock to come up from Chancellorsville. Upon his arrival he confronted Hill, and the struggle between these two forces closed in the evening without decisive result. Hancock again attacked at five in the morning,

but was met by a simultaneous advance by Hill. The Federals were at first successful, but, pausing to re-form lines, in their confusion they were attacked by Longstreet, who for the first time came upon the field. In this engagement Longstreet was wounded, but the struggle continued and eventually ended at nightfall in the defeat and disappointment of both sides. Grant had failed to make progress toward his goal; Lee had failed to crush Grant's army. The losses of the Union forces were about eighteen thousand; of the Confederates, from ten to twelve thousand.

552. Spottsylvania Courthouse.—Grant ordered his army forward on the seventh to continue the movement around Lee's right to Richmond, *via* Spottsylvania Courthouse. Lee divined the movement and stationed Longstreet to protect Spottsylvania. Aided by delays and accidents on the part of the Federals, Lee's whole army was in formation at Spottsylvania before Grant was ready to attack. Hancock as usual opened the fight at the right of the Federal line, but without making important gains. Other attacks in front and on the left were equally fruitless. During this early and ineffectual fighting, the gallant General Sedgwick was slain. His ability could ill be spared in the

SPOTTSYLVANIA COURTHOUSE

approaching campaign, but his place was taken by General Wright. On May 11, General Grant sent to Halleck at Washington his famous despatch, tersely expressing the whole purpose and spirit of his career at the head of the United States army:

> "We have now ended the sixth day of very hard fighting. The result up to this time is much in our favor, but our losses have been heavy as well as those of the enemy. I . . . purpose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

In those words was found the key to both his strength and weakness as a general—perseverance; on the one hand, admirable for its courage and confidence; on the other, lamentable for its heedlessness of life and disregard of military science.

On May 12 Hancock was ordered to advance against the center of the Confederate lines. His troops rallied to the assault bravely and stormed the first line of entrenchments, capturing many men and guns, but were hurled back by the terrible fire from the second line of works. All day the struggle for the outer trenches was continued with varying success. The attacks on either wing were invariably gallantly repulsed, and in the end the Federals were unable to make real progress. For a week Grant continued desultory fighting, refusing to acknowledge the impossibility of accomplishing the task he had set himself. At last he withdrew from the attack and ordered another movement around the enemy's right wing, this time directly toward Richmond.

553. The Battle of the North Anna.—The Federals moved by their left to Bowling Green and thence to the North Anna River, where the Confederates awaited them

OLD COURTHOUSE, BOWLING GREEN, VIRGINIA

on the opposite bank. Lee was in a strong position, the center of which touched the river, while the wings were by nature strongly fortified. Hancock and Wright forced a passage of the stream with some difficulty, but found themselves on opposite sides of Lee's wedge-shaped position. Burnside attempted to cross the river opposite the center of Lee's line, but was driven back with fearful losses. The Union army was completely blocked and was forced to make another wide detour to Hanover Courthouse, on the Pamunkey River; but again it was confronted by Lee's

army, which was ranged along the north bank of the Chickahominy.

554. The Battles of Cold Harbor.—Grant again advanced against Lee's right wing, moving toward Cold Harbor. Sheridan's cavalry, followed by Wright and joined by Smith's corps from Butler's Army of the James, occupied the town. Lee hurried Longstreet to the scene, but after a hard fight on June 1, the Federals remained in possession. Still clinging stubbornly to his "hammering" tactics, Grant ordered an attack all along the Federal line, to be begun at 4:30 on the morning of June 3. Lee, in a naturally strong situation behind entrenchments which made his position almost perfect, confidently awaited the assault. The gallant Union soldiers advanced desperately to the attack, knowing full well the futility of their efforts. In less than thirty minutes they were hurled back in confusion with a loss of nearly seven thousand men, ten times the loss suffered by their

JAMES LONGSTREET

opponent. Desultory fighting was continued for seven days, till Grant resorted again to his oft-successful flanking movement about the enemy's right. By June 13 his headquarters were transferred safely to the James River, and in two days the army had crossed that stream.

Grant's reputation as a general suffered irreparable injury from the foolhardy last assault at Cold Harbor. He himself, in his *Personal Memoirs*, says, "I have always regretted that the last assault at Cold Harbor was ever made. No advantage whatever was gained to compensate for the heavy losses sustained. Indeed, the advantages, other than those of relative losses, were on the Confederate side." The effect of Grant's campaign to this point has been well summarized by Dodge, in his *Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War:*

"The object of Grant's overland campaign was to capture or destroy Lee's army. He had done neither, but he had lost sixty thousand men in five weeks, without inflicting corresponding loss upon the enemy. The second corps alone had lost four hundred men a day from the time of leaving the Rappahannock."

The same author justly characterizes Grant's ability as a commander in the following words:

"Criticism cannot depreciate the really great qualities or eminent services of General Grant. His task was one to tax a Bonaparte. That he was unable to put an end to the struggle by means less costly in lives and material, if not indeed by some brilliant feat of arms, cannot detract from the praise actually his due for determined, unflinching courage. It rather adds to the laurels of Lee. It cannot be asserted that any other Northern general could here have accomplished more against the genius of this soldier. And it was Grant who, in the face of the gravest difficulties, political and military, was able to hold the confidence of the nation and prevent that party at the North which was clamoring for peace from wrecking success now all but won."

555. Operations at Petersburg.—Lee soon learned of Grant's purpose and was not misled by the demonstrations on the roads leading to Richmond. He carefully followed the Federal troops on parallel roads and crossed the James near Drury's Bluff, soon after the crossing of the Federals. The key to the defense of Richmond was the city of Petersburg, twenty-five miles away, which controlled the communications of the capital with the states of the South. Several attempts were made to carry the works, but all failed, and Grant was compelled to resort to a long and tedious siege.

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA
View near the scene of the explosion of the mine, July 30, 1864.

One early incident of that siege must be recorded. The Federal army, encamped before Petersburg, was busied in throwing up defenses to protect itself against sorties by the Confederates. In the course of these preparations Burnside had run a mine under one of the Confederate forts directly in front of his own army. His plan was to explode this mine and then, in the confusion which followed, to make a general charge upon the works. The preparations

were so badly managed and the assault so poorly led that the storming column failed to move forward, but remained huddled together in the crater of the mine. There it was mowed down by the Confederate guns, together with reenforcements sent to its relief. Four thousand men were lost to the Federal army by this fiasco.

556. The Shenandoah Valley.—Pursuant to Grant's original plan, operations were begun in the Shenandoah Valley early in May. The Union forces were confronted first by Breckenridge and then by Early, who had been sent with "Stonewall" Jackson's old corps from Lee's army in Virginia, and they were forced to retire from the valley into West Virginia.

Early thereupon pushed forward up the valley, confronted only by a small force, which rapidly retired before him, allowing him to occupy Frederick, and even to get within sight of Washington. He might have taken the city if he had acted with his accustomed vigor, but Lew Wallace hastily assembled a small force in his pathway and delayed him till reënforcements arrived at the capital, and Early decided to retire. At Strasburg he made a stand, defeating Crook and driving him back to the Potomac.[1]

In spite of the failure of Early's expedition against Washington, his activity compelled the presence of two corps of Federal troops sadly needed by Grant before Petersburg. Grant therefore determined to send a sufficient force into

[1] It was after this successful rally that McCausland's cavalry entered Pennsylvania, raided Chambersburg and in default of a ransom of $500,000 burned the town.

the Shenandoah, not only completely to defeat the Confederates, but so to devastate the valley as to make it incapable of supporting further war. He chose Sheridan for the task, and as he wrote to the officials at Washington, it was his desire that Sheridan "put himself south of the enemy and follow them to the death. Wherever the enemy goes, let our troops go also." Sheridan was given forty thousand finely trained infantry and fifteen thousand of the best cavalry of the army. During the summer Sheridan carried out his chief's plan with vigor; protesting every advance, relentlessly following the enemy in retreat, he drove Early from one end of the valley to the other, and at the Opequon River (September 19) and at Fisher's Hill (September 22) overwhelmed and defeated the Confederates by fierce and concentrated attack. He then counter-

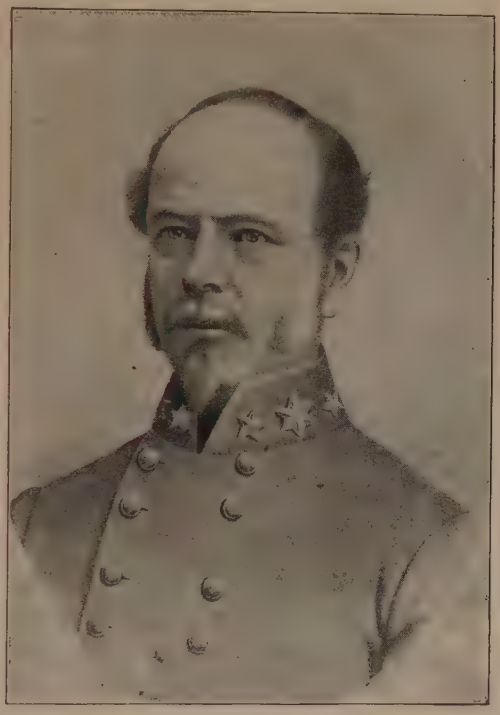
PHILIP HENRY SHERIDAN

marched, destroying everything in his path, leaving the valley not only utterly bare of provisions but incapable of producing anything for at least another year.

But Early was not completely whipped and in time took up his old position at Fisher's Hill. At this juncture Sheridan left his armies in command of General Wright and visited Washington for a conference with the authorities as to his future course. Early seized the opportunity for a surprise attack, entrusting to General Gordon a difficult secret movement about the Federal left wing. The operation was entirely successful, and after a brief resistance the Union forces broke and fled in confusion. Wright succeeded in halting the retreat and re-formed his lines just as Sheridan came upon the field after his famous ride from "Winchester, twenty miles away." Quickly inspiring his troops with confidence, he led them in a spirited and successful advance, driving the Confederates from their position. After a few brief and unimportant skirmishes the great Shenandoah Valley campaign was ended.

557. Sherman's Campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta.—While Grant was hammering his way from the Rapidan to the James and Sheridan was cleaning out the Shenandoah Valley, General Sherman was accomplishing his part of the general scheme and in a manner no less daring and brilliant. At the beginning of his campaign, his army of one hundred thousand men was concentrated at Chattanooga, while Joe Johnston, with sixty-five thousand men, was at Dalton, awaiting Sherman's advance. John-

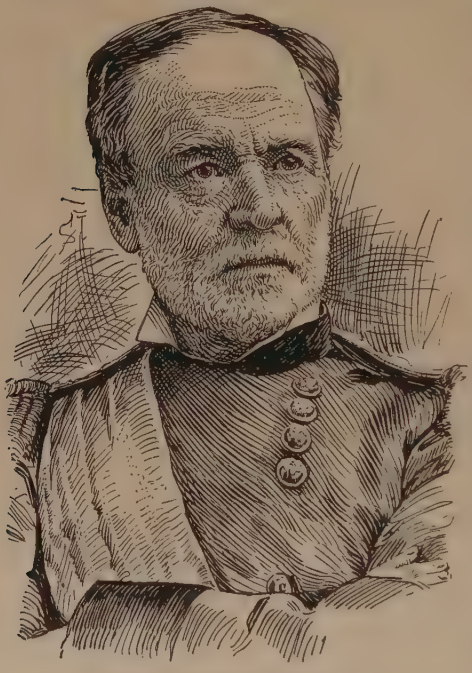
ston's task was far from simple, but he was the very man to accomplish it. Naturally cautious and inclined to underrate his own ability, but a thorough tactician and one of the most accomplished generals in battle upon either side, he was peculiarly fitted to lead the defensive campaign which conditions compelled. His predecessor, Bragg, had recently become chief of staff of President Davis, and as such was Johnston's chief adviser, but was far from friendly to the new commander. Indeed, Davis himself had lost confidence in him. Sherman, on the other hand, was working under the best possible conditions. His immediate subordinates were three of the ablest men in the Union army. He possessed to a remarkable degree the confidence and love of his own



JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON

troops and the respect of Grant and the authorities at Washington.

Sherman's problem was much the same as Grant's in Virginia, but he set about solving it by an opposite method.



WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN

Though superior in numbers, he determined not to risk an engagement with the Confederates unless the outlook was for a decided and easy success. He proposed to maneuver the Confederates out of strong positions. He therefore dispatched McPherson to seize Resaca, in the rear of Johnston's army, and at the same time ordered a general advance upon the center of the Confederate position. Johnston was therefore compelled either to come out of his intrenchments and fight an open battle, for which Sherman was eagerly hoping, or give up his position and retire southward. Johnston wisely chose the latter course, and after a

few days of light but almost uninterrupted skirmishing he crossed the river and took his stand at Adairsville. Still resisting Sherman's advance, but steadily refusing to give serious battle, he again withdrew when pressed, burning bridges and destroying railroads. Sherman as steadily advanced, reconstructing roads and bridges as he marched. In about a week, during which Sherman constantly endeavored to draw Johnston into open combat and as steadily failed, the Confederate line was forced back upon Marietta, an important railroad junction which Sherman was desirous of capturing. Johnston's position was strong, the center being upon Kenesaw Mountain, a line of high bluffs west of the city. Sherman determined to abandon his policy of flank maneuvers, owing to the heaviness of the roads caused by recent rains, and to assault the Confederate position on Kenesaw. Gallant Logan led the attack in front, but was met by a deadly fire from the Confederate trenches. Simultaneous attacks upon the left and right of the Confederate line likewise failed. The assault was finally abandoned, leaving Johnston in secure possession of the bluffs and the town. Sherman was again compelled to resort to his old tactics of turning the Confederate left wing. It was anticipated by Johnston, who evacuated Marietta, retreating beyond Chattanooga River toward Atlanta. However, he made a stand behind a breastworks on the southern bank of the Chattanooga.

In spite of Johnston's brilliant retreat, President Davis and his chief of staff determined to substitute Hood for

the Confederate commander, believing that the campaign demanded determined and aggressive action, rather than retreat and delay. Hood was a born fighter, a brave and brilliant soldier, but was impetuous and at times allowed his valor to override his discretion. Once in command, he immediately opened an engagement while the Federals were just wheeling into line after making a difficult crossing of the river. But the Confederates were beaten back upon Atlanta. The Federals steadily extended their lines about the city and after much hard fighting, during which brave McPherson was killed, Hood was compelled, on September 2, to withdraw, leaving Atlanta in possession of Sherman. During the campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta the Union loss was in the neighborhood of thirty-two thousand men. It was about a half larger than that of the Confederates.

THE BATTLE OF KENESAW MOUNTAIN
[From a painting by Thulstrup.]

558. The Alabama and the Kearsarge.—In response to the offer by President Davis of letters of marque and reprisal, many vessels were built and equipped for preying upon United States commerce. Several of these, of which

the most famous were the *Alexandria*, the *Florida*, the *Georgia*, the *Shenandoah* and the *Alabama*, were constructed in British ports. In spite of the protests of the American minister in England, they were allowed to put to sea without molestation. The *Alabama* sailed July 29, 1862, and during the next two years destroyed at least sixty-five United States merchant vessels, with cargoes valued at four million dollars. On June 19, 1864, however, she was overtaken outside the harbor of Cherbourg, France, by the United States corvette *Kearsarge*, under the command of Captain J. A. Winslow. After gallant resistance the *Alabama* was destroyed and left in a sinking condition, Captain Semmes and his crew being taken aboard a British vessel and carried to England. (See Section 607.)

559. Sherman's March to the Sea.—Having evacuated Atlanta, Hood decided so to threaten Sherman's communications from the rear that he would be compelled to return, and perhaps to retrace his entire route. Sherman, however, understood Hood's purpose and sent Thomas back to Nashville, with a force of sixty thousand effective men and with Schofield as chief subordinate. Hood started northward, but did little damage, and he was pursued in a listless manner by part of Sherman's force. He finally crossed the Tennessee River, thus proving that his march was not a ruse.

Nevertheless, Sherman, confident of the ability of his trusty Thomas to cope with his antagonist, started upon the march to the sea which he had contemplated for months,

and the value of which he had finally succeeded in proving to Grant. On November 16 he left Atlanta with sixty-two thousand "able-bodied, experienced soldiers well armed, well equipped and provided, as far as human foresight

SHERMAN'S HEADQUARTERS, ATLANTA

could, with all the essentials of life, strength and vigorous action."[1] His progress was at the rate of from ten to fifteen miles a day. The capital of Georgia, Milledgeville, was reached in seven days, and Savannah in twenty-five. From the very nature of the march, it was necessary that the army should subsist on the products of the country, and the foragers were a regular and necessary part of the army's equipment. A strip sixty miles wide through fertile Georgia was divested of everything which the army

[1] Sherman's *Memoirs*.

could use. Said Sherman, in a dispatch to Halleck, "Our soldiers riot on chestnuts, sweet potatoes, pigs and chickens." Railroads and telegraph lines were destroyed, the irons being twisted into fantastic shapes over bonfires made of the ties; factories were burned or despoiled and bridges

SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA
[From a painting by F. O. Darley.]

were dynamited. The army occasionally resorted to less defensible measures in burning buildings which were useless in the war, either for the Federals or their enemies, such as hotels, depots and private dwellings. Sherman himself estimated the damage done at one hundred million dollars, and apparently boasted of the fact that "at least twenty million dollars . . . inured to our advantage, and the remainder is simply waste and destruction."

During the month that Sherman occupied in marching from Atlanta to the sea, he was cut off from all communica-

tion with the North, the only information which the authorities at Washington or even General Grant had, being received through the Confederate papers at Richmond. When at last he notified the government of the capture of Fort McAllister, the outer defenses of the city, on December 13, the rejoicing at the North knew no bounds. After a siege of a week, General Hardee, the Confederate commander, found his position in Savannah untenable and evacuated. Sherman, occupying the town on the twentieth, sent President Lincoln his famous dispatch, "I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah, with one hundred fifty heavy guns, a plenty of ammunition and also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton."

560. Hood and Thomas in Tennessee.—1. FRANKLIN. —Hood's advance northward was protested by Schofield's corps of Thomas's army, which was under instructions to delay the Confederate advance as long as possible, in order that Thomas at Nashville could drill his army and make preparations for a successful defense. Schofield, however, was compelled to gradually fall back until he reached Franklin, a village on the south bank of the Harpeth River, about twenty miles south of Nashville. There he was compelled to make a stand, being unable to cross for lack of bridges. The rear guard of Schofield's army, contrary to instructions, opened a vigorous attack, but was repulsed and driven in confusion back to the main position. By desperate efforts, after a long and bloody battle, the Confederates were forced to retire, but Schofield's victory was

so costly and his position was so perilous that he fell back upon Nashville.

2. NASHVILLE.—Thomas, meantime, was gradually preparing his forces for an attack, but with such care and deliberation that the people of the North, General Grant and the officials at Washington were becoming impatient. They besieged him with telegrams, pleading, urging, demanding that he take immediate and aggressive action. They threatened to remove him from his command. He replied, expressing his willingness to be relieved but peremptorily refusing to move before he was ready. General Logan was finally named as his successor, but before he reached Nashville the blow which Thomas had been preparing was struck, and Hood's army was crushed.

GEORGE H. THOMAS
[From a photograph from life, now in the collection of H. W. Fay.]

The latter had followed Schofield to Nashville and had taken up a well-entrenched position before the city. His army, which had been forty-one thousand strong at the Tennessee River, was reduced to twenty-six thousand before Nashville, by desertion and by battle; Thomas had a fighting force of forty-eight thousand effectives. On December 15, he opened the battle on the enemy's left and center and made decided progress during the day. On the afternoon of the sixeenth, he ordered another advance along the whole line, overwhelmed the enemy's left wing and drove the whole force in confusion from the field. Upon withdrawing southward, the Confederates were confronted by Wilson's dismounted cavalry, and their retreat was quickly changed into a rout. Thomas pressed the pursuit with vigor, stopping only at the Tennessee River. The Confederate Army of the Tennessee now numbered but fifteen thousand men, and was constantly dwindling. It

JOHN A. LOGAN

was so completely overwhelmed that it was never reorganized as a fighting force. The Union loss was incredibly small, in view of the heavy fighting, being reported as scarcely more than three thousand.

Thomas had vindicated his policy by the most brilliant and overwhelming triumph of the war. A Southerner by birth and training, he had adhered to the Northern cause upon the outbreak of the war, but he had long failed to win the confidence of the people. Almost over-modest, he once refused the command of the Union forces in the west, and later accepted it only with the greatest reluctance. Yet his career was unique in the annals of the war, being unstained by a single defeat. In resisting attack, he was probably superior to any other commander on either side and well deserved the reputation that he won at Chickamauga. He also clearly proved his ability to strike terrific blows and to seize every advantage. Dodge says of him: "He perhaps falls as little short of the model soldier as any man produced by this country."

THE CAPITOL AT NASHVILLE
[After a drawing from a photograph taken during the war.]

561. The Battle of Mobile Bay.—Meantime, another daring feat had been placed to the credit of the American navy. Rear-Admiral David G. Farragut, who had been ordered to the Gulf of Mexico early in 1864 and had contemplated the capture of Mobile whenever a sufficient land force was ready to coöperate with him, began the attack August 5. The bay was protected on either side by Forts Morgan and Gaines, while the entrance was clogged with piles and laid with torpedoes. Undismayed, Farragut directed the course of his fleet through a narrow channel immediately under the guns of Fort Morgan, and, having passed the obstructions, steered across the bay in spite of the torpedoes which could be heard and felt scraping the bottoms of his ships. One exploded, causing the destruction of the monitor *Tecumseh.* The fleet maintained a continuous bombardment of the forts and received a terrible fire in return. Finally, when safely past the land batteries, it was confronted by the Confederate ironclad ram *Tennessee*, with a few minor gunboats. After a battle lasting several hours, the Confederates were compelled to surrender. On August 7 the Federal land force captured Fort Gaines, and on the twenty-third, Fort Morgan.

562. Political Affairs. — 1. The Presidential Campaign.—Sherman's triumphant march through the State of Georgia, Thomas's brilliant stroke in Tennessee and Farragut's victory in Mobile Bay proved to the people of the North that victory was near, and the struggle, which for four years had cursed both sections of the country,

would soon be ended. This cause for cheer was welcome after a period of despondency. During the year 1864, when the issue of Grant's campaign and even the fate of his army were far from certain, the contest for the presidency was in progress, dividing the friends of the nation at a time when their united strength was none too great for the task in hand. Lincoln had constantly met strong opposition in his own party among the radicals, who demanded a more vigorous prosecution of the war and the immediate abolition of slavery. The leadership of this opposition centered in Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury, who, though true at heart and exceptionally able in the management of his department, had long fostered a desire to become president and was not always discreet

DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT

in the means he used to further that ambition. Lincoln, with his usual magnanimity, overlooked these failings and long refused to interfere with Chase's aspirations, even though his own success was endangered by them.[1] As the time for nominations drew near, Lincoln's confidence in his own strength with the people was fully justified, for public opinion showed a decided movement in his favor. Chase, therefore, soon withdrew from the race, leaving Lincoln's nomination assured, though he was still opposed by such able and patriotic men as Horace Greeley, William Cullen Bryant and Thaddeus Stevens. At the convention, June 7, he was unanimously chosen. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was selected as candidate for vice-president. Several reasons led to this action; first, he was a War Democrat, and this would give significance to the name Union Party, under which the Republican candidates were then working; second, he came from a border state; third, he had made a fine record as governor of Tennessee, and finally, he was a Southern Union man, thus emphasizing in his candidacy the contention of the Republicans that the war was not a sectional war. The platform disclosed the firmer ground on which the Republican party was standing upon the subject of slavery. It declared that "as slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the na-

[1] Chase resigned on June 29, 1864, and was succeeded by William P. Fessenden of Maine.

tional safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic." Before the meeting of the Republican convention, the radicals, consisting of "immediate abolitionists," discontented Republicans, ex-officials and office-seekers, met at Cleveland and nominated John C. Fremont for president and General John Cochran of New York for vice-president. In August the Democratic convention met at Chicago and nominated General George B. McClellan for president, and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for vice-president. Their platform contained the following resolution:

"This convention does explicitly declare as the sense of the American people that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, . . . justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for the cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the states, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the federal union of the states."

The nominees of the convention were popular and at first awakened great enthusiasm; but the unfortunate statement in the platform, which was soon condensed by the Republican press into the statement, "The war is a failure," lost them many friends. McClellan attempted to offset this weakness by explicitly repudiating the platform and declaring for a vigorous prosecution of the war. The campaign was an exceedingly bitter one. Influential men in public debates cast most undignified aspersions upon their opponents. The newspapers of the time paraded personal faults in most scandalous terms. The opposition to Lin-

coln, however, soon began to disappear; Fremont withdrew reluctantly from the race and the final collapse of the "campaign of the discontents" was occasioned by the news of Farragut's exploit at Mobile and Sherman's capture of Atlanta. These proved better than words possibly could that the war was not a failure.

FARRAGUT MONUMENT, NEW YORK
The statue is by Augustus Saint Gaudens, the pedestal by Stanford White. The monument was erected in Madison Square by popular subscription, and was unveiled in 1881 by the sailor who lashed Farragut to the mast during the Battle of Mobile Bay.

At the election Lincoln and his policies were triumphantly endorsed, the vote in the electoral college standing 212 to 21, the Democrats having carried only New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky.

2. The Work of Congress.—Meantime Congress had been in session and, keeping abreast of public opinion concerning slavery, considered an amendment to the Consti-

tution, abolishing slavery throughout the country. The amendment passed the Senate April 8 by a vote of 38 to 6, but was defeated two months later in the House, having failed to receive the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution. On June 28, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was wholly repealed, along with other previous acts of the same nature. At the next session, in the following December, the amendment which had been presented and lost in April was reconsidered and passed by the House by a vote of 19 to 56, eight not voting, and within a year was ratified by the states. Meantime, Maryland had voluntarily freed her slaves by constitutional amendments, in 1864, and Missouri had followed, her legislature passing an ordinance to that effect January 11, 1865.

3. Steps Toward Peace.—Both sides were now desirous of peace. The South had become discouraged and exhausted. Its armies were dwindling from desertion; every day's fighting or waiting weakened its resources and added to its burdens. The North, though flushed with victory, was weary of fighting. Thousands of homes had given their bravest and best for the salvation of the Union, and everywhere there was dread of further bloodshed.

The universal desire for peace led Horace Greeley, who had long opposed the administration's war policy, to make efforts to bring about a peace conference between President Lincoln and two envoys of the Confederacy then in Canada. To Greeley's proposals Lincoln made two replies, which

have since become famous, and which early terminated the negotiations:

"If you can find any person anywhere professing to have any proposition from Jefferson Davis, in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and abandoning slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you."

Again, on July 18:

"To whom it may concern: Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with the authority of any power that can now control the armies at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the executive government of the United States and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways. ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

At about the same time Lincoln was making informal and irregular advances to President Davis looking toward the opening of peace negotiations, but without result. Not till February, 1865, were serious steps taken to that much desired end. Through common friends of the two presidents, a conference was then arranged between President Lincoln and three envoys of the Confederacy, Vice-

GRANT'S QUARTERS, CITY POINT, VIRGINIA
Log cabin occupied by General Grant during the Virginia campaign of 1864 and 1865.

president Stephens, Judge Campbell and Senator Hunter. During the argument Lincoln stubbornly clung to his determination not to treat under any other terms than the restoration of the Union. The Confederates were immovable in their decision to demand the independence of the Confederacy. Thus the Hampton Roads conference ended without bringing peace nearer.

563. Military Operations During the Winter.—Military affairs during the winter of 1864 and 1865 were few and of slight importance. Schofield's corps from Thomas's army was sent *via* Washington to coöperate with Terry in the capture of Wilmington, N. C., and after some delays accomplished the task on February 22, 1865. The Federals now controlled every important port of the Confederacy except Charleston, S. C.

At Petersburg Grant continued to test the enemy's strength at all points, but invariably failed to make gains. With the opening of spring, however, the work was again taken up, and the doom of the Southern armies was soon sealed.

564. Sherman's March Through the Carolinas.—On February 1, Sherman's army of sixty thousand, scarcely less in numbers and far greater in fighting spirit than when it started from Atlanta, left Savannah, Ga. The plan was to march upon Columbia, S. C., threatening Charleston and Augusta, Ga., on the way. The march was far more difficult and hazardous than that from Atlanta to the sea. All the rivers were swollen by spring rains, making the con-

struction of bridges difficult and dangerous. The earth was so soft that corduroy roads had to be laid over the entire distance. But in spite of all, the army covered nearly ten miles a day and reached Columbia on February 17.

SHERMAN'S MARCHES

The same ruin and devastation followed them on this march as before, and after reaching Columbia they exceeded even their own record for plunder and lawlessness. Crazed by liquor—which the terrified citizens brought as peace offerings to the invaders—the vicious element always present in the army, together with vagabonds and negroes who had been picked up *en route*, convicts who had escaped in the confusion from state and county prisons, and the idlers and adventurers in the city itself, united in a revelry of riot and

destruction. In the course of the night fires were started in several parts of the city, and, fanned by a high wind, soon laid the greater part of both business and residence sections in ruins. Much controversy has arisen over this fire, but the facts as stated above seem to stand criticism. However, it is possible that the stores of cotton fired by the fleeing Confederates themselves added to the conflagration and perhaps started it. Sherman and his officers did all possible to relieve the city and its people from the effects of the disaster, and labored earnestly to check the flames.

A FORAGER

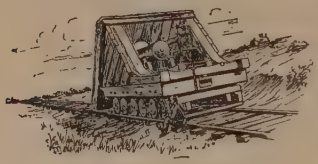
The march was continued on February 20. Charleston was soon evacuated and in due time was occupied by detachments of Federal troops. During the rest of the march through South Carolina unusual excesses were perpetrated, but unusual efforts were also made to restrain the conduct of the troops, as shown in one instance by an order of General Howard to his corps commanders:

"These outrages must be stopped at all hazards and the thieves and robbers who commit them be dealt with severely and summarily. . . . I call upon you and upon all the officers and soldiers under you who have one spark of honor or respect for the profession which they follow to help me put down these infamous proceedings and to arrest the perpetrators."

Soon after Hardee's evacuation of Charleston, General Lee placed General Joe Johnston in command of the Confederate forces in North Carolina. Johnston at once began

a vigorous campaign. He first opposed Schofield's advance from Wilmington, but without success; but soon stationed himself at Bentonsville, intending to defeat Sherman before his junction with Schofield. Sherman arrived at Bentonsville on March 19 and was confronted by Johnston's whole force of twenty-two thousand men. The battle continued all day with varying fortunes, but at night Johnston retired. On March 23, Sherman reached Goldsboro, there meeting Schofield, who had arrived two days before.

565. The Final Campaign.—The outlook of the Confederacy was now extremely dark. Lee's railroad connections with the west had been cut; his communications with Danville were threatened by the dashing Sheridan and ten thousand men, but were not destroyed; his army of sixty thousand men was confronted on almost all sides by Grant with twice his numbers, while Sherman was somewhat farther south, ready to cooperate with his chief at a moment's notice.



A RAILROAD BATTERY

Grant's siege of Richmond and Petersburg had had a marked effect upon the condition and spirit of the Confederate army, so Lee finally prepared to evacuate both cities, hoping to join Johnston, and, if not successful in open battle, to retire to the mountains, where the struggle could be continued indefinitely. In order to make a wider breach in the Federal lines through which to escape, Lee ordered

Gordon on March 24 to attack Fort Stedman, at the west center of the Federal position. The attack was at first more successful than was anticipated. Not only the one fort but several neighboring batteries were captured, but Gordon was not well supported and when he retired he left four thousand of his men prisoners. Grant discerned the reason for this attack and determined to extend his lines to cut off retreat. He therefore sent a large force headed by Sheridan from Petersburg in a southwesterly direction. On the thirtieth, Lee made a determined attack upon Warren's position at the extreme right of the Federal line, but for once failed, owing to inferior forces. Grant thereupon moved Sheridan forward to seize Five Forks, where, confronted by Lee's main army, about to leave Petersburg, he inflicted a decisive defeat, capturing five thousand men and throwing the rest into confused retreat. Grant then began the bombardment of Petersburg and followed it by attacks along the whole line. The resistance of the Confederates was gallant but futile. They were driven back and forced to leave both Petersburg and Richmond. Moreover, in the last assault one of Lee's ablest lieutenants, A. P. Hill, was killed.

With twenty-five thousand men, Lee marched west along the Appomattox River on the night of April 2, followed by Grant, the Confederate leader hoping to reach either Lynchburg or Danville, where he could unite directly with Johnston's force. Upon arriving at Amelia Courthouse, where he expected to find provisions, he discovered that the

supply train had been sent, under mistaken orders, to Richmond, directly into the hands of the Federals. Nevertheless, he pushed on as rapidly as possible, but fell behind Sheridan, who by that time was almost in front of him.

On April 8, Lee reached Appomattox Courthouse and halted his troops to give them rest. On continuing the march he found himself confronted by Sheridan and Ord, while his rear was being pressed by Meade. He sorrowfully admitted, "There is nothing left me but to go and see General Grant, and I had rather die a thousand deaths." The two generals, after an exchange of letters, met at the McLean House, in the village of Appomattox Courthouse. "Lee, six feet high and of faultless form," dressed in a "new full-dress uniform of Confederate gray buttoned to the throat, and with handsome sword, the hilt of which was studded with jewels," was confronted by Grant in a rough traveling suit, as he said, "the uniform of a private with the stripes of lieutenant general." The two men began

SHERIDAN MONUMENT, ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA
Monument to General Philip H. Sheridan, in the national cemetery.

the interview by recalling old army times, but Lee soon suggested the work in hand and asked Grant to write down his terms, which he did as follows:

"The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery and public property to be packed and stacked and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside."

Lee accepted the conditions, suggesting but one alteration —that the cavalrymen and artillerists retain their horses, which were their private property. This Grant added, not in the written terms but in his instructions to the officers. The interview ended by Lee's thanking Grant earnestly for the courtesy and kindly feeling he had shown during the negotiations and saying that it would go far to conciliate the Southern people. The gallant Confederate chieftain, upon returning to his command, in trembling voice

McLEAN HOUSE, APPOMATTOX
In which Lee and Grant arranged the terms of surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia. [After a steel engraving]

said a few last words to his faithful soldiers: "Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done the best I could for you. My heart is too full to say more." The following day he issued his farewell address to the Army of Northern Virginia and rode off to Richmond.

566. Rejoicing at the North.—When the news of the surrender reached the Northern states, the demonstrations of delight surpassed any celebration in the history of the country. Bonfires, flags, bunting, brilliant fireworks proclaimed to the eye the joy of the occasion, while the air was rent with the deafening roar of cannon, the chiming of bells and unrestrained cheers. Churches were filled with rejoicing multitudes whose hymns of thanksgiving were swelled by the passing crowds in the streets. Business was suspended, courts adjourned, processions in masks and fantastic costumes ruled the streets. The revelry continued almost unabated for two days and nights, and only lessened as the demands of business compelled sober thinking.

567. The Assassination of President Lincoln.—The celebration came suddenly to a terrible ending. On Friday, April 14, President Lincoln, with Mrs. Lincoln and other friends, went in the evening to witness the performance of *Our American Cousin,* by Laura Keene and company, at Ford's Theater, Washington. Among the performers was a brilliant but erratic and dissipated actor, John Wilkes Booth, who was also a fanatical sympathizer with the South. With

FORD'S THEATER, WASHINGTON
Theater in which Abraham Lincoln received his fatal wound, April 14, 1865.

others he had formed a conspiracy to kill President Lincoln and Secretary Seward and, it is thought, Vice-president Johnson and General Grant. He took upon himself the infamous duty of assassinating the President. At about 10:15 he entered the President's box at the theater, and, taking deliberate aim, fired a shot from his revolver at Lincoln's head; shouting "*Sic semper tyrannis*,"[1] he leaped to the stage. Though his leg was broken in the fall, he arose, shouting defiance at the audience, and fled from the building.[2] The bullet entered Lincoln's brain, and he never regained consciousness, passing away at seven o'clock Saturday morning. At the same hour that Booth was carrying out his part of the compact, a conspirator named Payne vainly attempted to murder Secretary Seward, who was lying ill at his home. On the morning of the fifteenth, Vice-president Johnson took the oath of office in his apartments and became president of the United States.

The gloom and grief which followed the announcement of President Lincoln's death was the deeper since it came so soon after a period of wild rejoicing. In Trinity Church, Brooklyn, on the morning after the tragedy, Henry Ward Beecher eloquently voiced the universal sorrow:

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[1] The motto of Virginia.

[2] Booth mounted a horse and with a fellow conspirator fled into Maryland, where he received assistance from Confederate sympathizers. After eight days of wandering, they boldly crossed the Potomac River into Virginia. On the night of April 25 their pursuers traced them to the farm of a certain Mr. Garrett, where they had hidden in a barn. Booth's companion surrendered when he saw that escape was hopeless, but Booth refused to give himself up until the barn was fired. When he came from the building he was shot without orders by one of the soldiers, and died soon afterward.

"Never did two such orbs of experience meet in one hemisphere, as the joy and sorrow of the same week in this land. The joy was as sudden as if no man had expected it, and as entrancing as if it had fallen a sphere from heaven. It rose up over sobriety, and swept business from its moorings, and ran down through the land in irresistible course. Men embraced each other in brotherhood that were strangers in the flesh. They sang, or prayed, or, deeper yet, many could only think thanksgiving and weep gladness. That peace was sure; that government was firmer than ever; that the land was cleansed of plague; that the ages were opening to our footsteps, and we were to begin a march of blessings; that blood was staunched, and scowling enmities were sinking like storms beneath the horizon; that the dear fatherland, nothing lost, much gained, was to rise up in unexampled honor among the nations of the earth—these thoughts, and that undistinguishable throng of fancies, and hopes, and desires, and yearnings, that filled the soul with tremblings like the heated air of midsummer days—all these kindled up such a surge of joy as no words may describe.

"In one hour joy lay without a pulse, without a gleam, or breath. A sorrow came that swept through the land as huge storms sweep through the forest and field, rolling thunder along the sky, disheveling the flowers, daunting every singer in thicket or forest, and pouring blackness and darkness across the land and up the mountains. Did ever so many hearts, in so brief a time, touch two such boundless feelings? It was the uttermost of joy; it was the uttermost of sorrow —noon and midnight, without a space between."

No one has more justly described the character and service of Abraham Lincoln than did James Russell Lowell, in his *Ode Recited at the Harvard Commemoration*, July 21, 1865:

"Nature, they say, doth dote,
And cannot make a man
Save on some worn-out plan,
Repeating us by rote:
For him her Old-World moulds aside she threw,
And, choosing sweet clay from the breast
Of the unexhausted West,
With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.
. . . . . .

His was no lonely mountain-peak of mind,
Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars,
A sea-mark now, now lost in vapors blind;
Broad prairie rather, genial, level-lined,
Fruitful and friendly for all human kind,
Yet also nigh to heaven and loved of loftiest stars.
. . . . . .
. . . Standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame,
The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American."

568. The End of the War.—Meantime Johnston and Sherman faced each other in North Carolina. On April 10

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN
A fine bronze equestrian statue erected in 1903 in the city of Washington, on the spot where Sherman reviewed the Union armies in parade in 1865.

Sherman moved forward from Goldsboro toward Raleigh, and after a week of intermittent skirmishing met General Johnston at the latter's request, to determine means of

ending hostilities. On April 18, at a formal conference, Sherman presented several propositions which Johnston accepted. Upon being communicated to Washington, the agreement was unanimously disapproved by President Johnson and his cabinet, upon the grounds that it covered political matters which were entirely without the province of the generals to discuss. Sherman thereupon demanded the surrender of Johnston's army upon the same terms as those upon which Lee surrendered, and the negotiations were finally ended April 21.

On May 4, General Taylor surrendered all Confederate troops east of the Mississippi to Major Canby, and on May 26, Kirby Smith surrendered all troops west of the Mississippi. Meantime, on May 10, President Jefferson Davis was captured near Irwinville, Ga., by a detachment of Wilson's cavalry and was taken to Fortress Monroe, where he was kept in close confinement.

Thus ended the Civil War.

569. The Cost of the War.—The conflict had lasted just four years. The rolls of the United States armies contained the names of 2,780,000 men; more than 1,250,000 were enrolled in the armies of the South. The greatest number of Confederate soldiers actually enlisted at any one time was about 471,000, on January 1, 1864. The Union army was largest at the close of the struggle, the rolls at that time showing an actual enlistment of 1,000,000 men. About four men of every nine of military age in the North, and nine of every ten in the South, served in

the armies for an average of three years. During the whole struggle the ratio of the armies of the North and South averaged nearly three to two. One hundred ten thousand Union soldiers were killed in actual battle or died of wounds, while two hundred fifty thousand others died of disease, exposure or from other causes. The actual losses in battle of the South were about ninety-four thousand, but fully one hundred seventy-five thousand others died in the service. This means that in both armies together an average of seven hundred men died each day, four hundred of them in actual battle, from the beginning of the war to the end. An idea of the appalling sacrifice made by the South for its cause may be gained from the fact that nearly one-fourth of the

MONUMENT TO THE UNKNOWN DEAD, ARLINGTON
"Beneath this stone repose the bones of 2,111 unknown soldiers, gathered after the war from the fields of Bull Run and the route to the Rappahannock."

arms-bearing population of South Carolina gave up their lives in the war.

The money cost of the war to the United States government was fully three and one-half billion dollars, while the cost to the Confederacy was not far short of two billion, though much of the latter debt was never paid. In addition to these sums, three billion dollars has since been paid out in pensions by the United States government to Union soldiers. These figures, appalling as they seem, take no consideration of the millions of dollars' worth of property destroyed during the war, nor of the loss caused by the check to production during the four years of the contest. The total cost to both sections doubtless amounted to at least nine billion dollars, a sum which, if divided among the families of the whole country in 1860, would have given to each, fifteen hundred dollars.

570. The Results.—1. Social.—The greatest result of the whole contest, from the standpoint of social progress, was the abolition of slavery. The wretched condition of the South during the war had proven the blighting influence of the institution, not only upon political life but upon industrial resources and social character. The South emerged from the struggle freed from this weakness, which for a century had stifled its growth.

2. Political.—The war made possible for the nation a real unity, both of interest and character, by the removal of slavery, which for centuries had made sectional feeling

inevitable. "Both sections were brought to the same modes of life and thought" and were led to seek with renewed devotion the common aims and to look with deeper reverence upon the traditions and possibilities of a common country.

3. Constitutional.—The war was begun for the preservation of the Union, and that was doubtless its most important result from a political and constitutional standpoint. However, it was a contest, as are all wars, of merely physical force, and proved nothing concerning the original meaning of the Constitution. It was no more certain at its close than at its beginning that the Northern view of the Constitution was right or was more just than the Southern view. It did give the assurance that in the future all sections must look upon the national government not as a compact of states, to be broken by any one of them at will, but as a government of the people; that thenceforth the United States was to be "an indestructible union of indestructible states," each supreme in its own sphere but bound to accept the decree of the majority of the *people of the United States* in matters affecting all.

571. General Characteristics of the Struggle.—Never before had a war pressed with such desperation by both contestants been conducted with such humanity. The wives and mothers of the soldiers in both armies followed them into the field and nursed them in sickness and injury, serving with equal patience and cheerfulness the boys in blue and the boys in gray. The Young Men's Christian

Association of the United States formed a "Christian Commission," whose emissaries found their way into every camp and barracks in the land, giving aid to the needy, courage to the disconsolate, helping all to maintain their ideals of physical and moral manhood under the trials and temptations of army life. The work of the Woman's Relief Corps and the Christian Commission well supplemented the remarkable labors of the United States Sanitary Commission under the efficient direction of Rev. Henry Bellows and Frederick Law Olmstead. Acting on the wise principle that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" and that, in the words of Olmstead, "the duty of guarding against the defeat of our army by disease is to be undertaken as earnestly, as vigorously . . . as any other military duty," this commission inspected the condition of camps, enforced cleanliness and right living among the men, supplied fresh and wholesome food and led in judicious athletic exercises. It also accomplished great relief to those already stricken, distributing bedding, clothing, medicines and delicacies, and performing favors. Spurred on and often guided by this commission, the United States Medical Corps expended much thoughtful effort in relieving necessary distress and preventing, as far as possible, personal suffering and the weakening of the forces through careless surgery. The value of these labors was amply proved by the figures showing mortality among wounded soldiers. But forty-three thousand out of three hundred eighteen thousand wounded soldiers in the Union armies died of

their wounds—an unprecedented record. Both the United States and the Confederate governments in these important respects furnished an example to all the peoples of the world.

In curious contrast to these ministrations on the field of battle was the treatment of prisoners of war by both

LIBBY PRISON, RICHMOND
A warehouse used by the Confederates as a military prison.[1]

parties. Prisoners were housed in unventilated, crowded buildings, often provided only with insufficient clothing and bedding, compelled to suffer in winter from the cold and in summer from the heat, and always from hunger and uncleanliness. At the South, Libby Prison and An-

[1] It became notorious for abominable sanitary conditions, causing fearful suffering from cold, hunger and disease. In 1889 it was torn down and removed to Chicago, where it was rebuilt brick by brick and opened as an historical museum, but it has since been demolished.

dersonville, and at the North, Fort Delaware, were particularly notorious for the abominable conditions which prevailed.

The worst of these was Andersonville, which consisted of nothing more than a field of fifteen acres, stripped of its timber, surrounded by a high stockade, within which no shelter was provided save the caves or huts erected by the men themselves, the only source of water supply was polluted by refuse from the cooking quarters, the food was insufficient and unwholesome. It should be said, however, that many of the officials in charge in both the Confederate and the Union prisons labored earnestly to better these conditions.[1]

QUESTIONS

Describe in one hundred words the political situation at the opening of 1864. What was the position of the Northern Democrats at this time? Discuss critically the attitude of the Democratic party in the North to the government throughout the war.

Which more nearly embodies American ideals, Washington or Lincoln? Give reasons for your opinion. Who was the most admirable military leader in the war? Why? Why was the attitude of the border states important throughout the struggle? What would have been the probable effect if Kentucky, Missouri and Maryland had joined the Confederacy? Describe in a sentence the war policies of the North and South, respectively.

What did the war decide from a constitutional standpoint? What do you consider the most important result of the war? What disadvantage do you see in nominating upon a party ticket, for vice-

[1] The North long refused to exchange prisoners; first, because the South discriminated against colored captives; second, because every liberated prisoner returned to the Confederate armies and thus postponed the exhaustion of the South, which, it was hoped, would ultimately end the war. Grant justified this policy on the ground that a man gave up his life as fully to the Union cause if he died in prison as if in battle.

president, a man whose views differ upon important questions from those of the candidate for the presidency? Was this policy wise in 1864?

What is "drafting" into the army? How is it managed? Is it constitutional?

REFERENCES

The following works give general accounts of both the political and military events of 1864 and 1865: Channing's *Student's History*, pp. 546-554; Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, pp. 233-238; Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, vol. iv, p. 424 to the end, vol. v, pp. 1-188; Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, ch. xxi. Morse's *Abraham Lincoln* (American Statesmen series), pp. 246-258; Hart's *Chase* (American Statesmen series), pp. 290-318, and Johnston's *American Politics*, pp. 203-206, are devoted chiefly to political events, while Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War*, pp. 192-327; *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, vol. iv; *Campaigns of the Civil War*, vols. ix, x, xi and xii, and Grant's *Personal Memoirs*, vol. ii, pp. 90-498, are confined to military history. The following general works will also be found helpful: Schouler's *History of the United States*, vol. vii; Burgess's *Civil War and the Constitution* and Ropes's *Story of the Civil War*.

Of fiction, Cook's *Hilt to Hilt* and *Mohun* will be interesting to adult readers, and Henty's *With Lee in Virginia* to children.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Thirty-eighth Congress opened	Dec. 7, 1863
Slavery abolished by Maryland	1864
Grant appointed commander in chief	Mar. 1, 1864
Grant's Virginia campaign opened	May 3, 1864
Battles of the Wilderness	May 5 and 6, 1864
Sherman's march to Atlanta begun	May 7, 1864
Battles of Spottsylvania Courthouse	May 8-21, 1864
Battle of the North Anna River	May 23-26, 1864
Battles of Cold Harbor	May 31-June 12, 1864
Early's first campaign in the Shenandoah Valley	June-Aug., 1864
Siege of Petersburg	June 18, 1864-Apr., 1865
Battle of the *Alabama* and the *Kearsarge*	June 19, 1864
Battle of Kenesaw Mountain	June 26-27, 1864
Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 repealed	June 28, 1864

Event	Date
Battle of Atlanta	July 17-28, 1864
Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley campaign	Aug.-Nov., 1864
Battle of Mobile Bay	Aug. 5, 1864
Evacuation of Atlanta	Sept. 2, 1864
Battle of Opequon River	Sept. 19, 1864
Battle of Fisher's Hill	Sept. 22, 1864
Battle of Cedar Creek	Oct. 19, 1864
Second election of Lincoln	Nov., 1864
Sherman's march to the sea begun	Nov. 16, 1864
Battle of Franklin	Nov. 30, 1864
Amendment abolishing slavery passed by Congress	Dec., 1864
Battle of Nashville	Dec. 15-16, 1864
Sherman in Savannah	Dec. 20, 1864
Abolition of slavery in Missouri	Jan. 11, 1865
Sherman's march through the Carolinas begun	Feb. 1, 1865
Hampton Roads conference	Feb., 1865
Sherman in Columbia, S. C	Feb. 17, 1865
Capture of Wilmington, N. C	Feb. 22, 1865
Battle of Bentonsville	Mar. 19, 1865
Lee's evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond	Apr. 2, 1865
Lee's surrender	Apr. 9, 1865
Assassination of President Lincoln	Apr. 14, 1865
Surrender of Johnston	Apr. 21, 1865
Capture of Jefferson Davis	May 10, 1865

EMANCIPATION

A bronze group in Lincoln Square, Washington, erected by the freedmen of the United States. The first contribution consisted of the first earnings in freedom of Charlotte Scott, a Virginia negress, who at her own suggestion consecrated it to building a monument to Lincoln's memory.

PART TWO

THE ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION

1866-1876

PART TWO

THE ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER VII

FIRST STEPS TOWARD RECONSTRUCTION

1863-1866

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—One step toward a solution of the American race problem is for all sections to acknowledge their joint responsibility for existing evils. This acknowledgment will inevitably follow an impartial study of the history of the problem, the facts of which are presented in the following chapters.

The mature student will find pleasure and profit, while studying the period of reconstruction, in subjecting the several theories to a test of the Constitution itself. Notice that during this period, as at other times when the government has been under special strain, rather has the Constitution been interpreted in accordance with the policy of the dominant party than has public policy conformed to Constitutional theory. Is this dangerous or beneficial? Why?

Study the situation which made possible the succession of a man like Johnson to the post left vacant by Lincoln; note the cause and results of the former's position as a "president without a party"; estimate his character and personality, and realize their influence upon his acts as president. Study the causes which led Congress to oppose him. Which of these were legitimate? Consider the condition of the Southern states during reconstruction, from the standpoint of the loyal white Southerner, the negro, the former Confederates; then of the section as a whole, and finally of the United States as a whole.

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572. Introductory.—The foregoing narrative necessarily has been chiefly concerned with military events and those political affairs which directly affected the prosecution

of the war. To obtain an appreciation of the full meaning and the tremendous cost of the struggle, it is necessary to know something of the actual conditions of life which prevailed at the time, of the sacrifice and suffering which the war occasioned. Such a study should lead to a broader view of the whole controversy by emphasizing the sincerity and earnestness shown by both parties.

573. The North During the War.—In the North, at the beginning of the war, the ordinary activities of life did not cease; communication with the outside world was maintained, interest in the arts and sciences hardly languished, schools and colleges were well patronized, the usual social intercourse and festivity continued. As the struggle progressed, however, social life was notably modified by the grief and anxiety which were everywhere present.

The daily experiences of the people were affected in other important ways. The prices of all necessaries of life immediately rose; luxuries were soon beyond the reach of all but the most wealthy. Coffee at the tables of the middle class was replaced by parched corn and rye, brown sugar was used instead of white, and the use of many other common articles of food was abandoned. Plain clothing of the cheapest quality was worn.

From the beginning of the war until near the close of the year 1862 industry in all lines declined; the economies of the wealthy reflected the poverty of the lower classes. But in the autumn of 1862, business everywhere showed a distinct revival; factories that had long remained

closed reopened; new maufacturing plants were established; there was a brisk demand for labor; the rise in the market price of bonds and stocks, the ready sale among the people of government securities, and the large investments in private commercial enterprises revealed a general prosperity. This feeling of optimism was occasioned partly by the growing conviction that military resistance to the government could not succeed; partly by the fact that the armies drew many laboring men from productive industry; partly by the demand of the government for arms and supplies, but chiefly by the natural reaction from the depression existing in 1857. This reaction had set in before the opening of hostilities and was promoted by the good crops of 1861 and 1862, and by the foreign demand for American agricultural products. However, the increase in the cost of living far outran the increase in wages, and the outward prosperity did not materially improve the lot of the laboring classes.

EAST ROCK, NEW HAVEN

The monument which crowns the summit of this picturesque cliff was erected by the State of Connecticut to the memory of her soldiers and sailors who died in the Civil War.

The large issue of government treasury notes, causing such a rise in the value of gold and silver as practically to drive the latter from circulation, became a serious inconvenience to trade and led to the trial of amusing remedies. Among the first was the issue of so-called "shinplasters," promissory notes of hotels, restaurants and mercantile houses. These circulated freely in all important markets and for a time supplied the deficiency in small coins. But the inevitable confusion set in, and Congress attempted to remedy the condition by prohibiting the use of "shinplasters," authorizing the payment of certain dues to the United States in postage stamps and making these redeemable in greenbacks. The stamps, with gummed backs and of small and inconvenient denominations, were even less satisfactory than private notes, and the government finally provided for the issue of fractional paper currency, in the denominations of three, five, ten, twenty-five and fifty cents.

As the material condition of the upper classes improved, there was a corresponding decline in morality. A distinguished lecturer at the time bewailed "the reckless extravagance, the dishonest contracts, the gambling speculations, the corrupting luxury, the intemperance, profligacy and crime which had followed with still accelerating steps in the train of the terrible struggle."

574. The South During the War.—The Confederate government from the outset was hampered by lack of funds. Import duties, the source of revenue which under

ordinary conditions would have been depended upon chiefly, were almost wiped out by the blockade. The chief markets for cotton, rice and tobacco, the only important products of the Confederacy, were also shut off.[1] Thus the government was deprived of export duties and the people lost an important source of income. This led to the issue of treasury notes, for which the government could not pledge specie redemption because it had no specie.

ATLANTA IN 1867
[From a photograph taken at the time.]

By the end of 1864, fully one billion dollars' worth of these notes were outstanding. Furthermore, states, cities, banks, insurance companies, factories, other corporations and even private citizens issued notes for circulation, which added to the amount of current money, but also increased the confusion in values and hastened the decline in the value of government money. The government finally resorted to the exchange of government bonds for actual products, such as cotton and provisions

[1] The value of cotton exported in 1860 was about $202,700,000; in 1861, $42,000,000; in 1862, $4,000,000.

with which to supply the army, but this resource finally failed, owing to the opposition of the planters and farmers.

As the value of the paper money declined, prices naturally rose. In 1864, the price of flour was at times four hunded dollars per barrel, and shoes sold at one hundred fifty dollars per pair. Tea and coffee were no longer seen upon family tables, being saved for occasional use as stimulants for the sick and wounded. Men in hospitals and poor people in the cities perished for lack of ice. Coal and wood, medicines and salt were classed as luxuries in the camps and hospitals, as well as in private homes. Factory or custom-made clothing was worn only by the most wealthy, its place being taken by homespun and calico. Many of the most common implements of household use, such as chairs, pails, brooms, baskets, ink and paper, were so scarce as to command high prices. Many cultured women who had been mistresses of fine mansions, with hundreds of servants to do their bidding, were forced to secure humble employment in Richmond and other large cities.

In striking contrast with this poverty were the festivities indulged in by three classes of persons, who flocked to Richmond and spent their wealth in high living and lavish entertainment. These were the owners of blockade runners, whose profits often amounted to one hundred fifty thousand dollars each way on a single trip; manufacturers of cotton and iron, who received large prices for their output, owing to the scarcity of mills and factories

in the South; finally, those engaged in illicit trade with the North.

The war caused the same increase of vice and corruption at the South as at the North; robbing, gambling, drunkeness, vices of every description and degree were practiced openly and apparently without shame. Corruption and malfeasance in office was constantly complained of; "official rogues" were arraigned in the newspapers, but seldom brought to justice. In the midst of this riot of sin and corruption, the only class which seems to have clung to its old standard of morality were the negro slaves, whose principles of living at least temporarily advanced with the increase of their responsibilities. At home on the plantation, often without the hand of a single man to control them, they were constant in their devotion and fidelity to the women entrusted to their care.

LEE MONUMENT, RICHMOND
Mercie's bronze statue of Robert E. Lee upon his famous warhorse, Traveler. Erected in Lee Circle, Richmond.

The political phase of Southern life during the war was

peculiar. The constitution of the Confederacy was in some respects probably superior to the present Constitution of the United States; the officers of the government were, on the whole, men of ability and power; the people took peculiar interest in political affairs. Yet the result of their efforts at independent government was principally internal controversy and discord. Though at first containing in its membership many able men of political experience, the Congress suffered from the necessity of promoting to executive and military posts the strongest men in the Confederacy. Under stress of war and taking advantage of this weakness, the executive department became all-powerful, taking liberties far beyond those which at the same time were causing intense opposition to Lincoln in the North. Strange to say, though these actions aroused some opposition, there were no organized political parties.

It was after such experiences as these, with the added discouragement of failure, that the Confederate armies disbanded and went to their homes. Their own eloquent spokesman has best told the tremendous problems confronting them:

"Think of him [the Confederate soldier] as ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted, enfeebled by want and wounds; having fought to exhaustion, he surrenders his gun, wrings the hands of his comrades in silence, and, lifting his tear-stained and pallid face for the last time to the graves that dot the old Virginia hills, pulls his gray cap over his brow and begins the slow and painful journey. What does he find?— . . . what does he find when, having followed the battle-stained cross against overwhelming odds, dreading death not half so

much as surrender, he reaches the home he left so prosperous and beautiful? He finds his house in ruins, his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barn empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless; his social system, feudal in its magnificence, swept away; his people without law or legal status; his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy on his shoulders. Crushed by defeat, his very traditions gone; without money, credit, employment, material training; and besides all this, confronted with the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence—the establishment of a status for the vast body of his liberated slaves." [1]

575. The Problem of Reconstruction.—Aside from the social and economic questions which confronted the Southerners themselves, the condition of the South at the close of the war presented constitutional and political problems whose solution required the combined patience and ingenuity of the ablest men of both sections. The framers of the United States Constitution did not contemplate the possibility of secession and had made no provision to meet the questions arising from it. The problem, therefore, was entirely new, and opinions naturally differed, not only on the proper course to be followed in the reorganization of the seceding states, but upon the actual conditions existing in them relative to the Federal government.

Several views were held at different times concerning the constitutional relation of the conquered seceded states to the United States government. President Lincoln believed that rebellion and secession were not acts of the state itself but of disloyal conspirators who had subverted the loyal governments. In his mind, then, the problem was to restore the loyal element to power by the use of

[1] Henry W. Grady, *The New South.*

executive pardon, and to support with military force the loyal governments thereafter established. Charles Sumner proposed a theory sometimes known as "state suicide," which held that the attempt to secede from the Union forfeited the rights, "functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the state as a body politic" and reduced it to the position of a territory under the jurisdiction of Congress. Thaddeus Stevens declared that secession not only destroyed the state as a political organization, but placed it in the status of a conquered province, which could be governed by Congress without constitutional limitations.

Lincoln's plan came to be called the "presidential plan," or "executive reconstruction." The others, differing in details but agreeing in the principle that to Congress belonged the sole right of restoring the seceded states to their former relations with the general government, were soon known indiscriminately as "Congressional reconstruction."

576. The Beginnings of Executive Reconstruction.—Long before the close of the war, Congress was called upon to make provision for the solution of the problem of reconstruction or reunion. At first Lincoln's policy prevailed, even Congress, with a few exceptions, consistently supporting the presidential plan.

In his annual message on December 8, 1863, President Lincoln announced a proclamation carrying his plan into effect. He prescribed an oath of allegiance to the United States and ordained that all persons who would take this

oath would be considered loyal citizens. He excepted from the rights defined by the proclamation certain classes, including civil or military officers of the Confederacy, former United States congressmen and Federal

FORT WALKER, ATLANTA
After the war.

judges, former officers in the army or navy of the United States who had entered the service of the Confederate States, and, finally, those who had treated captured colored soldiers in any other manner than as prisoners of war. He then declared that—

"Whenever in any of the states of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one-tenth the number of the votes cast in such states at the presidential election of the year A. D. 1860, each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the state existing immediately before the so-called Act of Secession, and excluding all others, shall reëstablish a state government which shall be republican, in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the state. . . ."

However, he expressly declared that the question "whether members sent to Congress from any state shall be admitted to seats, constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective Houses and not to any extent with the executive."

577. Beginning of Congressional Opposition.—On January 8, 1864, a popular convention of loyalists from Louisiana requested General Banks, military governor, to order an election for state officers. Accordingly, he named February 22 as election day, and on March 4 a new government was duly inaugurated. In April of the same year a new anti-slavery constitution was adopted, about sixteen per cent of the number of legal voters registered in 1860 voting on the question. The presidential plan was then in full operation in both Louisiana and Arkansas.

But at this point Congress evidenced a change of view by refusing admission to the representatives of Arkansas who had been chosen under the reconstructed government. Its policy was voiced in a bill presented in the Senate by B. F. Wade, and in the House by H. W. Davis. The bill passed both houses, but it was sent to the President less than ten days before the end of the session, and he used his right to kill it without a veto. It declared that the seceded states were rebellious communities to be ruled by military governors, until by a prescribed series of steps state government conforming to the will of Congress should be established. The bill also abolished slavery throughout the seceded states, thus plainly im-

plying that these states were only districts subject to the control of Congress.

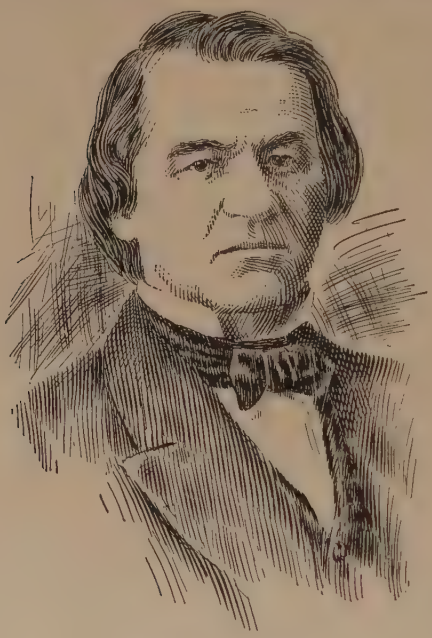
On July 8, 1864, President Lincoln issued a proclamation, giving his reasons for withholding his signature to the Wade-Davis bill, and emphasizing his contention that the Southern states were still *states*. The radical Congressional party published an arrogant and intemperate reply, hoping, doubtless, to injure the President before the people and to defeat him in the approaching election, but in spite of all he was reëlected. However, Congress continued its opposition to the presidential plan and on February 4, 1865, voted not to count electoral votes for president and vice-president from states which had seceded.[1]

Before anything further could be done toward reconstruction, the patient and magnanimous Lincoln had been assassinated, and his place was taken by the capable but tactless Johnson.

578. The Presidential Plan.—Andrew Johnson was a citizen of Tennessee who had refused to go with his state into the Confederacy, and for his loyalty to the Union had been appointed military governor of Tennessee. As a "War Democrat" and a staunch Unionist he had been chosen the Union candidate for vice-president, and with

[1] The Republican members of Congress who favored the Congressional plan of reconstruction placed themselves in a peculiar predicament in refusing to count the votes of Tennessee. The Constitution says that no man is eligible for election as vice-president who is not a citizen of some state of the Union. The Republicans had elected Andrew Johnson of Tennessee vice-president, but before his inauguration they voted that Tennessee was not a state of the Union.

Lincoln had been elected in November, 1864. Before and after his inauguration he had spoken rashly concerning the proper way to treat the rebels at the close of the war, and had expressed as his conviction that "traitors should be arrested, tried, convicted and hanged." There was the best of reason, therefore, for the general belief that his policy would be revengeful and irritating, rather than conciliatory; but he presently came under the influence of Secretary of State Seward, a lover of peace and an advocate of Lincoln's lenient method of reconstruction. The transformation in Johnson's views was almost miraculous. Though he had been one of the most radical of the anti-Southerners, apparently willing to follow Congress to any extent in its theory that the Southern states had forfeited all rights under the Constitution, he became one of the most determined exponents of reconstruction by executive act alone.



ANDREW JOHNSON

On May 29, 1865, he issued a proclamation of amnesty and pardon to all who had not availed themselves of the rights proclaimed by Lincoln in December, 1863, and March, 1864. However, he excluded from the provisions of this proclamation seven classes of persons, including practically all conspicuous men in the Confederacy; but he held out the hope of special executive pardon to members of these classes. On the same day he issued another proclamation, appointing a provisional governor for North Carolina, commanding the assembling of a convention of delegates to frame a new constitution and ordering United States officers and judges to resume authority in their several districts. He had previously recognized the loyal government in Virginia and had ordered the United States laws to be enforced in that state, and before July 13 he appointed provisional governors and extended United States authority over Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Florida. He recognized the already existing loyal governments in Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee.

He thus made clear that the policy of Lincoln was to be continued, in substance. During the summer and autumn of 1865, constitutional conventions assembled in all these states. Amendments to the state constitutions were adopted in all, abolishing slavery, repealing or annulling the ordinance of secession and, in all except Mississippi and South Carolina, repudiating the state debts incurred for the Confederacy. The same states

chose local and state officers, legislatures, representatives in Congress, and, with the exception of Florida, elected United States senators. Furthermore, all but Florida and Mississippi had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. The latter definitely rejected it on November 27; the former ratified it after the convening of its legislature, on December 28. When Congress assembled, December 4, Johnson in his message argued in favor of his views on the status of the seceding states and outlined the steps which had been taken to carry those views into effect. He reserved to Congress only the right to judge of the election of its own members.

579. Development of the Congressional Policy.—Two influences were molding the sentiment of Congress along radical lines:

First and most important, the arrogant and exasperating attitude of President Johnson. Though he knew full well that the views of Congress were gaining ground among the people, he did not hesitate to use the advantage gained by the recess of Congress to carry into effect his pet measures of reconstruction. He hoped that by the time Congress convened affairs would have progressed so far that that body could not repudiate his program without being chargeable with a breach of faith with the South.

Second, the action of the legislatures of reconstructed states in attempting to meet the problems thrust upon them by the results of the war, especially the determina-

tion of the social, industrial and political status of the liberated slaves.

During the latter years of the war, thousands of negroes had flocked to the Federal lines. Some of them had been admitted to the army and were performing garrison duty, but a vast majority remained a hindrance and a burden, demanded as a right the protection and support of the United States and developed all the vices which usually result from idleness and ignorance. To relieve the suffering which was inevitably occasioned by removing the source of support of these freedmen, Congress, in March, 1865, passed a law organizing in the war department a body known as the *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands*. This bureau was to take possession of abandoned lands and other United States lands in the seceded states, to assign them to loyal male refugees and negroes in parcels of not more than forty acres to each and to protect these new owners in the use of their property for three years. It was also given permission to issue provisions, clothing and other necessaries to destitute freedmen. The purpose of the bill was commendable, but in practice it raised many difficulties and wrought almost as much harm as good. It led many negroes to quit profitable work and gather about the bureau depots, thereby increasing rather than diminishing the dangers arising from the new social order. In self-defense the legislatures of the Southern states were compelled to establish severe laws restricting the rights of these vicious

idlers, who wandered aimlessly from place to place, lived by stealing and begging, refused to work upon plantations and flocked to the large cities. Though slavery was abolished by the new state constitutions and by the action of the legislatures in ratifying the Thirteenth Amendment, new laws were immediately passed, restricting the social and political rights of the freedmen. The following provisions of Mississippi laws are characteristic of those which were passed or considered in almost all the Southern states; (1) Negro minors who were orphans or children of parents who would not or could not support them, were to be apprenticed by the court to some responsible person, the former master preferred, until the minor, if a girl, was eighteen years old, if a boy, twenty-one. (2) Punishment of the apprentice was to be moderate, but the master was to be the judge of its severity. (3) If the apprentice deserted his employer, his case was to be determined by a justice of the peace, who might remand him to his employer, commit him to jail or free him, in the last case imposing a fine upon his master for his education. (4) Negroes, also whites associating with negroes, who had no lawful employment, were liable to fine, imprisonment, or both. (5) Freedmen were compelled to have in their possession written contracts or written licenses to do job work, which were to be purchased from the state. (6) Many trivial acts capable of being misconstrued were subject to fine, and these fines, if not paid, were to be worked out in service

to some person chosen by the sheriff. (7) Many past laws concerning the punishment of slaves, negroes and mulattoes, were reënacted. These statutes, widely known in the North as "Black Laws," aroused the anger and suspicion of Republican congressmen, who professed to see in them not only great danger and injustice to the negro, but a growing spirit of resistance and insubmission on the part of the South. They apparently lost sight of the fact that the preceding Congress had done much to make such legislation not only justifiable but necessary.

580. Beginnings of Congressional Reconstruction.— When Congress assembled in December, 1865, the names of the seceding states were omitted from the roll call, and a concurrent resolution was passed by the Senate and the House, appointing a committee of nine representatives and six senators to investigate conditions in the South and report upon the right of the seceding states to representation under their existing governments. The Houses also resolved not to admit the representatives of Southern states until this Congressional committee had reported. Meantime, Secretary Seward proclaimed the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment by 27 out of 36 states, constituting the required three-fourths. In this count the secretary had included the states of the South and had thus reiterated in the face of Congressional opposition the policy of the executive. This sympathy on the part of the administration led the representatives of the Southern states to become boastful and arrogant

at Washington, demanding more than they could rightfully expect. At the same time it strengthened the determination of Congress and unified the sentiment of that body, which up to this time had been divided upon the best course to pursue.

581. President versus Congress. — In the spring of 1866 there were presented to Congress two reports of conditions in the South; one by General U. S. Grant, which favored the President's view, and one by General Carl Schurz, which sustained that of Congress. The latter declared that the leaders and the mass of the people of the South were still at heart disloyal and that the efforts of its legislatures were in the direction of establishing a slavery scarcely less complete than that which had been destroyed. Congress preferred to accept the opinion of Schurz, and on February 6, 1866, it passed an act continuing the Freedmen's Bureau, enlarging its functions and making the abridgment of the rights or immunities of freedmen a penal offense against the United States. Johnson vetoed the measure on the grounds of its unconstitutionality and also because it was passed by a Congress in which there were no Southern representatives. An attempt to pass the measure over his veto failed. Having been successful in this skirmish, Johnson, who utterly lacked patience and moderation, through the press and in public addresses heaped abuse upon some of the most prominent members of Congress, and in so doing distinctly weakened his cause before the people.

582. The Civil Rights Bill.—At the same time that the Freedmen's Bureau Bill was presented to the Senate, a Civil Rights Bill was also introduced, but was not passed until some weeks later. It declared "all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed" to be citizens of the United States; it guaranteed "citizens of every race and color," without regard to previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime,

CARL SCHURZ

the same civil rights, and prescribed heavy penalties for interference with such rights, leaving jurisdiction in cases arising under the law with the United States courts. The President vetoed the bill on March 27, on the ground of inexpediency and injustice and for the further reason that it gave to the national government dangerous powers never before exercised. The Senate and House, exasperated and discouraged by Johnson's stubborn defense of

his own policy, promptly passed the law over his veto April 9, 1866.

583. The Fourteenth Amendment.—Though the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Bill was not directly challenged by President Johnson, the Republican majority, to ensure the final acceptance of its provisions as the fundamental law, decided to propose a Constitutional amendment along the same lines. After much debate as to form, though there was a unanimity of opinion upon its general features, it was finally passed in June, with the following important provisions:

(1) "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside." Thus it finally settled the question whether a citizen owed allegiance first to the nation or to the state.

(2) It provided for the reduction of representation in Congress of any state that denied the franchise to male citizens twenty-one years of age.

(3) It excluded from holding Federal offices all those who had held office under the Confederacy or of any state included in the Confederacy, unless pardoned by Congress.

(4) It repudiated debts contracted for the Confederacy.

Secretary Seward sent the amendment to the states, including the seceding states, on June 16. There was a general feeling in Congress that the ratification of this amendment should be made a condition precedent to the

admission of any state to the Union, but no such definite action was taken. However, when the matter was brought up by a communication from the legislature of Tennessee declaring its adoption of the amendment, Congress passed a resolution which so emphasized the act of ratification as its reason for admitting Tennessee and entitling her to representation, that the policy of Congress was made plain.

584. The Contest Continued.—The ill-feeling between Congress and the President increased as time passed. The report of the Congressional reconstruction committee, the majority of whom vigorously sustained the Congressional view of conditions, while a minority as firmly sustained the President, added to the bitterness of the controversy. In July, 1866, a new Freedmen's Bureau Bill was presented and passed by both houses, was sent to the President, was vetoed and was repassed by the necessary two-thirds majority. This bill extended the life of the Bureau for two years, appropriated the property of the Confederate government for the education of the negroes, provided for the sale of public lands to negroes on easy terms and extended military protection to them.

QUESTIONS

Account for the improvement in industrial conditions at the North after 1862.

What were "shinplasters"? Are any kinds of fractional currency used by the United States government today?

Discuss political developments in the Confederacy in comparison with contemporary developments in the North.

What was the main difference between "executive reconstruction" and "Congressional reconstruction"? What was the first step taken in the execution of each policy? What did the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments provide? What clauses of the original instrument, if any, did they supersede? Were they in harmony with the principles of the framers of the Constitution?

Explain the situation which led to the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau and the "Black Laws" of the South. Name important provisions of these laws. What were the main provisions of the Civil Rights Bill?

Enumerate the chief causes leading to Congressional opposition to President Johnson's policy. What was the state of reconstruction in July, 1866?

REFERENCES

The best full accounts of conditions in the South during the war will be found in Schwab's *The Confederate States of America* and Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1860*, ch. xxviii; also consult Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, pp. 239-252. The condition of the North during the war is also discussed minutely by Rhodes, ch. xxvii, and in Channing's *Student's History*, pp. 557-565. The following will be found excellent general discussions of the period of reconstruction: Scott's *Reconstruction During the Civil War*, Smith's *Political History of Slavery*, Burgess's *Reconstruction and the Constitution*, Brown's *The Tenth Decade of the United States* (a series of articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, beginning in May, 1905). For special phases of the subject see Hart's *Chase* (American Statesmen series), chs. xiii and xiv; McCall's *Stevens*, ch. xiii to end; Lothrop's *Seward*, ch. xxi; Story's *Sumner*, chs. xvi-xx, also pp. 401-406; Johnston's *American Politics*, pp. 206-212. Exceedingly interesting side lights are thrown upon reconstruction by the extracts given in Hart's *Source Book*, nos. 127-132, inclusive, and in Johnston's *American Orations*, vol. iv. For an able exposition of the southern view, consult Herbert's *Why the Solid South?*

The fiction of the period includes Bradley's *Sketches from Old Virginia*, Cable's *John March, Southerner*, Bret Harte's *Clarence*, Seawell's *Throckmorton*, Octave Thanet's *Expiation*, Page's *Red Rock*, Tourgee's *A Fool's Errand* and *Bricks Without Straw*.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Beginning of executive reconstruction	Dec. 8, 1863
Government reconstructed in Louisiana	Mar. 4, 1864
Wade-Davis Bill passed	July 4, 1864
Organization of Freedmen's Bureau	Mar., 1865
Passage of "Black Laws"	1865
Death of Lincoln; accession of Johnson	Apr. 15, 1865
Proclamation of amnesty issued	May 29, 1865
Provisional governors appointed for Southern states	May to July, 1865
Ratification of Thirteenth Amendment by Southern states, excepting Mississippi	May to Dec., 1865
Reconstructed states barred from Congress; committee on reconstruction appointed	Dec., 1865
Second Freedmen's Bureau Bill passed	Feb., 1866
Civil Rights Bill passed	Mar. and Apr., 1866
Fourteenth Amendment passed by Congress	June, 1866
Third Freedmen's Bureau Bill passed	July, 1866

CHAPTER VIII

RECONSTRUCTION COMPLETED

1866-1876

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—The events discussed in this chapter present questions of special political interest. The student should notice that the constant tendency of Congress was to expand its authority at the expense of the executive—occasionally by actually usurping executive functions, often by transferring the president's power to subordinate officers of the executive department. Its obvious aim was always to make the executive dependent upon the legislature for the execution of his policies. This movement culminated in impeachment, and by the narrow margin of a single vote the independence of the executive was saved.

The Tenure of Office Act became prominent during the administration of Cleveland and under somewhat similar circumstances to those recited in this chapter. At this time grasp its main principles and provisions and judge of its legality and expediency.

Note the important constitutional questions decided during the reconstruction controversy—the real nature of the Union and the relation of the individual and of the state to the nation.

Read in some good encyclopedia the articles upon impeachment, noting the process by which a trial is conducted; suffrage; pardon; amnesty; Ku-Klux Klan; "carpet-bag" government; *habeas corpus*. Read short accounts of the lives of Grant, Greeley, Stevens, Johnson, Stanton, Seward, Seymour, Schurz, Chase and Hayes.

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585. The Elections of 1866.—The issue was now clearly drawn between the President and Congress. Seward and not a few other prominent Republican politicians and practically a united Democratic party gave their support to the President's policy. The campaign was conducted upon the issue of reconstruction. In the fall

President Johnson started upon a trip, ostensibly to be present at the dedication of a monument in Chicago, but really to have opportunity to publicly reply to his enemies. In every state between Maryland and Illinois he earnestly defended his policy, but he was so intemperate and undignified in his language that he weakened rather than strengthened his cause. The fall state elections were overwhelmingly against him, resulting in the election of 143 Republican congressmen and only 49 Democrats.

The President was not daunted by this rebuke and in his message of December 3 gave a forceful presentation of the facts and arguments upon which he was proceeding. But Congress was in no temper to listen. It was constantly tending toward more radical action; first, because of the somewhat haughty refusal of the reconstructed states to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment; second, because of reports of outrages committed by Southern whites upon the freedmen and their white friends.

586. Reconstruction by Congress. — 1. Preliminary Acts.—Congress, led by the deliberations of a caucus of Republicans, proceeded to solve the problem of reunion without regard to the wishes or opinions of the President. It first made suffrage universal in the District of Columbia, repassed the measure over the President's veto, and even threatened to impeach him.

2. The Tenure of Office Act.—On February 20, 1867, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act. This

bill provided that officers appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate could be removed only with its advice and consent; it allowed the president to suspend officers during the recess of Congress, but if, upon reassembling, the Senate refused to approve such suspension, the officer was thereby reinstated. Cabinet members were to hold office during the term of the president who appointed them and for one month thereafter. Extreme penalties were provided for violation of the act, and the treasury officials were to be punished if they signed any warrant to pay the appointee's salary.

The bill was a usurpation by the legislative branch of the government of the prerogatives and rights of the executive. Though the Constitution did not expressly give the president the removal power, it was clearly implied in the appointing power and in the president's responsibility for the proper execution of the law. The First Congress, under the influence of the Constitution-makers, had interpreted the instrument in this way, and their practice had since been followed consistently. President Johnson vetoed the bill and in his message gave honest and convincing arguments in support of his action.

3. The Reconstruction Acts.—The joint committee on reconstruction, through its chairman, Thaddeus Stevens, presented to Congress on February 6, 1867, a bill which for the first time definitely committed the body to a drastic program of reconstruction. It divided the Con-

federate states into five military divisions; each of these was to be governed by a general of the army appointed by the president, and each was to be supplied with a sufficient force to compel the execution of the laws; law

FORT SUMTER IN 1865
The interior of the fort at the close of the Civil War, after frequent bombardments and assaults by Federal forces had reduced it to ruins.

could be administered either through civil courts or by military commissioners, at the will of the general of the district; speedy trials were ordered, unusual and cruel punishments were prohibited, and death sentences under the act were subject to the approval of the president. A constitutional convention was to be held in each state, to be composed of delegates chosen by universal manhood suffrage; in each state a constitution was to be framed

conforming to the United States Constitution and containing the principle of universal manhood suffrage; this constitution was to be ratified by a majority of all voters who possessed the required qualifications and were not disqualified by participation in rebellion or by act of felony; the constitution was then to be submitted to Congress for its acceptance. The Fourteenth Amendment was to be adopted by the legislature of each state and by a sufficient number of other states, so as to assure its final acceptance as a part of the fundamental law before any of the so-called "rebel states" was to be admitted to the Union. Finally, the law declared that the existing governments in the "rebel states" were merely provisional —that they could be accepted, modified or abolished by the United States. The measure was extremely harsh and irritating and in almost every point was unconstitutional. President Johnson returned it to Congress with his veto.

Congress later passed a supplementary reconstruction measure, defining the administrative features of the law, and prescribing an oath to be required of voters, which was so ambiguous that it could easily be made a powerful instrument of oppression and injustice. The President also vetoed this bill.

587. Interpretation of the Reconstruction Acts.—All the vetoes were overridden and the President was forced to proceed with the execution of the laws. Lacking sympathy with the purposes and provisions of these laws,

Johnson, in his instructions to the generals concerning the administration of them, interpreted them so leniently as almost to set them aside.

When these instructions were made public, Congress promptly passed a bill interpreting its reconstruction acts in such a manner as to directly contradict and supersede the orders of President Johnson and placing authority over the military districts with the commander of the United States armies rather than with the president. Johnson vetoed this bill and in his usual vigorous style protested with special emphasis against the robbery of the executive of his constitutional power; but Congress upon the same day passed the bill over his veto by overwhelming majorities.

588. The Reconstruction Acts in Operation. — The military commanders of the several districts began diligently to administer the laws. Registration was begun, the board of registry usually consisting of army officers, former Union soldiers, officers of the Freedmen's Bureau and negroes. As a result of untiring efforts, a large registration was secured, more than half the names upon the list being those of negroes. In five states negroes and mulattoes constituted a large majority of the legal voters, and in all the other states they were almost equal in numbers to the whites. Most of the able men of the South, many of whom had been former leaders in government affairs, were disfranchised. The white voters consisted of the small middle class of loyal men who had

never joined in the war; the "poor white trash"; northern settlers who had taken up land or were otherwise engaged in business, and finally, adventurers from the North who had gone South for the sole purpose of accumulating a fortune from political plunder.

The elections were held as ordered, the newly created electorate casting the vote under the protection of United States troops. The zeal of these officers to prevent the intimidation of the freedmen often outran their discretion, while little attention was paid to the repeating of ballots by negroes or their white friends. All the states voted to hold conventions. The delegates chosen, on account of the conditions prescribed by the Reconstruction Acts and the character of the new electorate created by them, were in most cases men of little intelligence or patriotism. In some of the conventions the ratio of negroes to white men was as high as two to one, and the constitutions framed by them were accordingly extreme and unjust in their provisions concerning the rights of former Confederates. They not only proclaimed political equality for the negroes but social equality as well, and they disfranchised practically all the leading Southerners.

These constitutions were submitted to the same voters who had chosen delegates. In Alabama, where the first vote was taken, General Pope, the commander of the district, declared that voters registered in one precinct could cast their ballots in another and thus opened the way for wholesale repeating. He also declared that the

same men who voted on the constitution should at the same election vote for state officers and legislature under the constitution. This order far exceeded his authority, for under the United States Constitution the Federal

RICHMOND IN 1865
Showing ruins of the business portion of the city after its destruction by fire upon the withdrawal of the Confederates, April 2, 1865.

government has no power to establish the qualifications of electors for state offices. These must be determined by the state constitution itself. Since this constitution had not yet been adopted, obviously the election of officers under it could not legally be held. President Johnson understood this fact and appointed General Meade to supersede General Pope, but the vote proceeded in the manner determined by Congress. The constitution was defeated, since less than half the number of registered voters cast ballots upon the question, a condition re-

quired by the law of Congress for ratification. Thereupon, Congress, on March 11, passed a law repealing the provision which required that more than half the registered voters must vote upon the proposition in order to make the decision of the election valid, and applied the new law to the Alabama election, which had already occurred, thus reversing the result. Immediately after the passage of this law, Arkansas held an election by which, under the former law the constitution would have been rejected but under the new ruling was ratified. In the same manner, during the months of April and May, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Louisiana adopted constitutions, but Mississippi, by a considerable majority, rejected the one proposed.

The tyrannical and unconstitutional course pursued by Congress steadily increased the opposition and determination of President Johnson. On December 3, 1867, in his annual message to Congress he gave unanswerable arguments in opposition to its policy, but as usual without effect.

589. Suspension of Secretary Stanton.—During the controversy between the President and Congress, Secretary Stanton had inclined more and more toward the theory of Congress and had come into serious disagreement with his chief. The relations between the two men had come to such a point of distrust and antagonism that the President believed Stanton to be a secret spy of the Senate who was to report upon the views and purposes of the

administration as disclosed in its confidential councils. Under ordinary conditions, Stanton would have resigned, as a matter of courtesy; but partisanship had become so bitter that even when requested to give up his portfolio, he haughtily refused. As Congress was not in session, Johnson suspended Stanton, placed General Grant in charge of the war department, and, upon the opening of the next Congress, in a special message notified the Senate of the suspension and the reasons therefor. He stated his belief in the unconstitutionality of the Tenure of Office Act and ridiculed Stanton's taking refuge behind it when he had previously declared it to be unconstitutional and therefore void. But the Senate refused to concur in the suspension. Grant thereupon retired from the department of war, and Stanton resumed possession.

EDWIN M. STANTON

Johnson ordered Grant, as general of the army, not to obey orders of Stanton as secretary, unless confident

that they came directly from Johnson. Grant, inasmuch as his orders had always come through the secretary, declared that he should consider future orders from that source as issued from the president and should obey them. President Johnson found himself practically excluded from his position as commander in chief of the army by a subordinate who was upheld by the Senate. His position was intolerable and affairs moved rapidly forward to a crisis.

590. The Impeachment of President Johnson.—On February 21 the President dismissed Stanton from office and appointed General Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant-general of the army, to be secretary of war *ad interim*, and notified Congress of his action. Stanton resisted the order, commanded his subordinates to refuse to obey the new secretary and, feeling confident of the support of the Senate, caused the arrest of Thomas. The Senate promptly resolved that the President had no constitutional authority to dismiss Stanton from office.

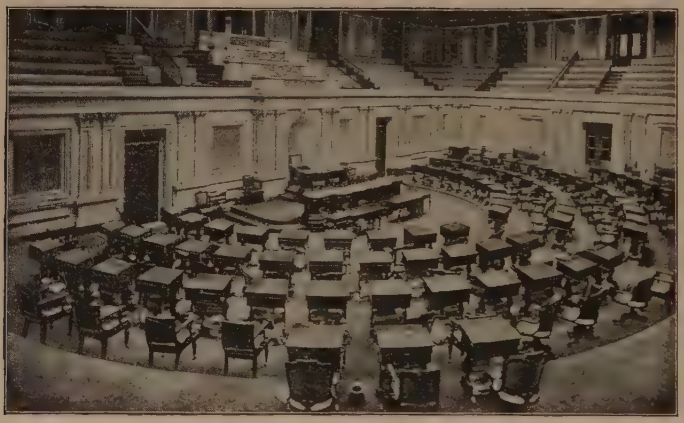
Meantime, the House, exasperated beyond endurance, had considered a motion to impeach the President; on February 22, the resolution was brought up for action and on the twenty-fourth was passed by a strict party vote, 126 Republicans to 47 Democrats. A committee to formulate the articles of impeachment was appointed, and their report was adopted on February 29, the same committee being constituted managers of the prosecution. Eleven charges were made against the President, but of these,

three were of paramount importance: (1) That Johnson as president had violated the Tenure of Office Act in dismissing Stanton and appointing Thomas; (2) that he had violated the law of March 2, 1867 (Section 586, 3), in promulgating orders to military officers through other channels than the general of the army; (3) that he committed high misdemeanors in denouncing Congress in public speeches and in declaring the Thirty-ninth Congress to be a Congress of only part of the states.

The Senate organized as a court of impeachment March 5, with Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase in the chair, but adjourned until the thirteenth and again until the twenty-third, at the request of the President's counsel. The attorneys for the President included the most capable and distinguished constitutional lawyers of the time—Henry Stanbery, who had resigned his position as attorney-general, Benjamin R. Curtis, Jeremiah S. Black,[1] William M. Evarts and Thomas A. R. Nelson. On March 23 they filed their reply to the charges of the House, declaring that the Tenure of Office Act did not apply to Stanton's case, for the reason that he held his commission at the pleasure of the president under the Constitution; that if it was held that this law did apply, the President's action was not a violation of the law in the strict sense, for it was merely in order to bring the law before the Supreme Court for determination of its constitutionality; that the President in his speeches had only

[1] Black was shortly succeeded, for personal reasons, by William S. Groesbeck.

expressed his own opinions—a right which the Constitution gave to him as well as to every other citizen of the land—and finally, that he had never given orders to officers of the army except through the general in chief, but had merely expressed to them his belief in the unconstitutionality of the law which deprived the president of his power as commander in chief of the military forces.



SENATE CHAMBER, CAPITOL, WASHINGTON

On March 30, the trial began with an intemperate attack upon the President by Benjamin Butler, for the managers of the prosecution. This was the first of a series of bitter partisan maneuvers which had no rightful place in the imposing judicial proceeding which was in progress. The evidence introduced proved conclusively the President's innocence of all charges but the first mentioned. The case eventually turned upon the question, Did he violate the Tenure of Office Act? Under the act (Section 586, 2),

Stanton, being an appointee of President Lincoln's, was holding office only on sufferance of President Johnson and could be removed by him even though the Tenure of Office Act were constitutional. The weakest point in the case of the defense was in its statement that the acts committed, if in violation of the law, were committed merely to test the constitutionality of the law. This principle, if allowed to stand, would practically give to the president a double veto upon the acts of Congress.

The case was closed May 6, and the voting began May 16. Of the fifty-four senators, eight were Democrats and were almost sure to vote for acquittal. The President needed nineteen votes—that is, one more than one-third—and therefore was dependent upon the votes of eleven Republican senators. The last article, involving the question of the commission of high misdemeanors, was voted on first, the result being 35 for conviction and 19 for acquittal. On May 26 voting was resumed and on each article the vote was the same, the result being acquittal on every charge. Stanton, therefore, resigned, and General Schofield, who had been nominated as secretary of war during the impeachment proceedings, was confirmed.

The conclusions to be drawn from the whole controversy have been well summarized by J. W. Burgess, who says:

"... The judgment was an acquittal. ... It was rendered in accordance with law and evidence and ... it preserved the constitutional balance between the executive and the legislature in the governmental system of the country ... for this the judgment of history coincides with the judgment of the court."[1]

[1] Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution.*

591. The Admission of Reconstructed States.—By June, 1868, the legislature of Arkansas had conformed to all the requirements of Congress by ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment, and on the twenty-second day of that month the state was admitted to the Union and entitled to representation in Congress, upon the "fundamental condition," however, that its constitution should never be so amended as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the right to vote, except as a punishment for crimes at that time constituting felonies in common law. On June 25 Congress admitted representatives and senators from North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama and Florida, but it imposed upon them the same conditions as upon Arkansas and also made their admission dependent upon their immediate ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The President vetoed these bills, pointing out that the conditions imposed for admission, such as the promise never to alter suffrage regulations, were contrary to the United States Constitution, under which the determination of qualification for electors was reserved to each state. The President's suggestions were not heeded, however, and the bills were passed over his vetoes. Before the end of July, the seven states having conformed to the acts of Congress, the President proclaimed the Fourteenth Amendment adopted by them and declared them states of the Union.

On July 28, Secretary Seward announced the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment by thirty of the thirty-eight

states of the Union, including in the list, by authority of Congress expressed in a resolution on July 21, the reconstructed states. This resolution of Congress and the secretary's proclamation disregarded the action of Ohio and New Jersey legislatures repealing their ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, and thus settled an important question of constitutional interpretation as far as Congress and the executive could settle it. Thereafter state legislatures could not rescind their resolutions ratifying amendments to the Constitution, a fact which distinctly implied that the

LEE MANSION, ARLINGTON

A famous old mansion associated with the history of several of Virginia's most distinguished families; now owned by the United States government.[1]

[1] This house was erected by George Washington Parke Custis, adopted son of George Washington. It was bequeathed by Custis to his daughter, who married Robert E. Lee. It was seized by the government during the Civil War, sold for taxes and bought in by the United States. After some litigation it was again purchased from General Lee's descendants, and is now in the midst of the national military cemetery, the most beautiful in the world, in which are buried nearly twenty thousand Union soldiers.

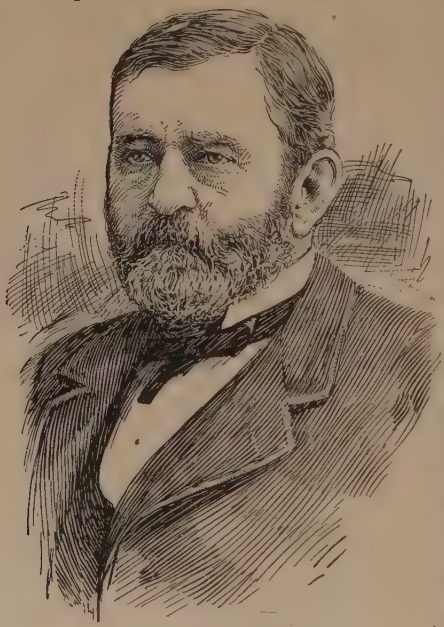
Constitution and its amendments did not constitute a compact between states, but an instrument adopted by the people of the United States through legislatures acting as conventions of delegates.

592. The Presidential Election.—Meantime, the country was witnessing the quadrennial outburst of oratory and enthusiasm incident to the election of chief magistrate. The Republican Convention met at Chicago in May and nominated for president General U. S. Grant, the hero of the war, and for vice-president, Schuyler Colfax. Its platform declared for the payment of the public debt in sound money, demanded equal suffrage in the South, but left the same question to be determined by the several states in the North, promised liberal pensions to soldiers and denounced the President in violent language. Its indefensible attitude on suffrage led the candidates of the party soon to advocate an amendment to the Constitution establishing equal suffrage throughout the land. The Democratic party, though facing a great opportunity, was confronted by a serious schism. Johnson, a Democrat at heart, found himself at swords' points with the party to which he owed his election, and looked to his former Democratic comrades for vindication. His desertion of the Democratic party four years before, however, had made him no longer a factor in its affairs, and though he commanded sixty votes at the convention, his nomination was impossible. George H. Pendleton, the candidate for vice-president in 1864, was brought forward as the candidate of the

"greenback" faction, which demanded the payment of those government obligations which were not explicitly payable in coin in any "lawful money of the United States," that is, in paper money, which was to be issued in unlimited amounts. The Eastern Democrats, though succeeding in defeating his candidacy, were compelled to accept his platform, and this weakened their cause in the most populous section of the country. On the subject of reconstruction the Democratic platform denounced the acts of Congress as tyrannical, unconstitutional and revolutionary, demanded the "immediate restoration of all the states to their rights in the Union under the Constitution" and lauded President Johnson for his course during the controversy. Its candidates were Horatio Seymour of New York, the most prominent War Democrat in the country, and General F. P. Blair of Missouri, a popular and capable Union general, but often too frank in his public utterances. The greenback plank of the platform, together with Blair's tactless acts and expressions, was sufficient to give Grant an overwhelming majority. Of the thirty-four states whose electoral votes were counted, only New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Oregon, Georgia and Louisiana voted for Seymour, the votes of the electors standing 214 to 80.

593. The Fifteenth Amendment.—In accordance with the growing sentiment that suffrage should be governed not by Congress but by the states, and that any restriction upon the states' rights should apply to all and be embodied

in a Constitutional amendment, Congress, shortly after the opening of its session, proposed an amendment as follows: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." It was sent to the states for their ratification on February 26, 1869.



ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT
As president of the United States.

594. The Retirement of President Johnson.—On March 4, President Johnson retired from the presidency. He had lost the respect of Congress, had failed to win the support of the people and was disheartened and discouraged—a far different figure from the haughty, passionate, reckless character who four years before had entered the White House. Yet he deserved more from his countrymen; in spite of his vulgar instincts, his rude manners and his irritable and vindictive temperament, he was a man of

honest convictions, of keen judgment, of resolute loyalty to principle and of unfaltering patriotism. His unfortunate personality combined with the suspicion and violence which characterized his times to make him a political outcast.

595. Reconstruction Under Grant.—President Grant found reconstruction completed in six states, but in Georgia, Texas, Mississippi and Virginia it was a problem still pressing for solution. At the request of the people of the two last-named states, Congress authorized elections to be held in them in the spring of 1869, at each of which a constitution was to be proposed for ratification, but the provisions upon disfranchisement and disqualification for office were to be voted upon separately. The constitutions, minus these provisions, were ratified almost unanimously, and Virginia was admitted to the Union in January, 1870, and Mississippi in February, with ineffectual provisos guaranteeing that the constitutions should never be amended to abridge the political and educational rights of the freedmen. The constitution of Texas did not contain such clauses as had been stricken from those of the other two states, and she was therefore admitted to Federal relations March 30, 1870. Georgia's[1] stubborn resistance to Congressional reconstruction led Congress to require that her legislature ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, and exact an extremely strict oath from her state

[1] Georgia's representatives had been admitted to Congress, but, upon learning that negroes had been refused seats in the state legislature, Congress, at the next session, voted to exclude Georgia from representation.

officers, and that her constitution provide that no person should be excluded from the legislature by reason of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Upon her hesitation to accept these provisions, military law was established over the state, and under its protection negroes and "carpet-baggers" gained possession of the legislature. The state was finally admitted to the Union July 15, 1870. At that time, technically, reconstruction by Congress was completed.

596. The Immediate Results of Congressional Reconstruction.—By patiently waiting and witholding consent to the acts of Congress, the states of Virginia, Georgia and Texas gained a distinct advantage. By the time they were admitted, so many of their eminent men had been pardoned or amnestied and admitted to suffrage that by a united effort and a strong organization the intelligent whites were able to keep power in their own hands. Mississippi, on the other hand, though by resisting Congressional reconstruction she had gained much better terms for her respectable citizens than most of the other states, was still subject to the domination of negro or "carpet-bag" government, because the negroes far outnumbered the whites.

In the condition of its government, Mississippi was in the same predicament as all the other reconstructed states, with the exception of those previously mentioned. The negroes, unaccustomed to political power, became proud, arrogant and avaricious. They soon fell under the influence of Northern adventurers, most of whom possessed neither

principle nor patriotism. Elected to the legislature, they governed with a high hand. They voted to themselves immense salaries and gratuities, sold vast issues of bonds

CONFEDERATE MONUMENT, NEW ORLEANS
Monument erected in Greenwood Cemetery to the memory of soldiers who died for the cause of the Confederacy.

and squandered the proceeds in extravagant contracts, for which they received large illegal commissions. They sold fraudulent franchises and valuable privileges, but turned

over to the state only a small portion of the returns. Between 1868 and 1872 the legislature of South Carolina, consisting largely of negroes, spent two hundred thousand dollars for furnishing the assembly and senate chambers. During the same time the bill for sundries and expenditures amounted in one session to three hundred fifty thousand dollars, of which one-third was used for the maintenance of a free restaurant and bar. In the four years during which carpet-bag rule was at its height, the state debt was increased from five to eighteen million dollars without any substantial improvements as a result. During the same term in Louisiana the average annual expenditure was six million dollars, fully ten times the amount required under previous administrations. The debt of the state was increased from about seven million dollars, with sufficient assets to cover the debt, to fifty million dollars, without a cent of assets and nothing accomplished to show for the expenditure. Corruption throughout the South was open and shameless; vice and vulgarity ruled unmolested at every capital, and the moral and intelligent people of the community were powerless. One writer has well said:

"It was the most soul-sickening spectacle that Americans had ever been called upon to behold. Every principle of the old American polity was here reversed. In place of government by the most intelligent and virtuous part of the people for the benefit of the governed, here was government by the most ignorant and vicious part of the population for the benefit, the vulgar, materialistic, brutal benefit, of the governing set."[1]

[1] Burgess.

597. The Redemption of North Carolina.—It is not strange, in fact it was inevitable, that the South should become restive and rebellious under such influences. Indeed, before 1870 the white citizens of North Carolina, by firm, united resistance, elected a legislature favorable to the real interests of the state, drove the usurpers from power and rescued the commonwealth from the campaign of violence and confiscation. The immediate cause of the outburst of popular resolution was the passage by the negro lawmakers of a bill allowing the establishment of martial rule in any part of the state at the will of the governor or of the legislature.

NATIONAL CEMETERY AT RICHMOND

598. Ku-Klux Klan.—But in other states success was not won so easily. One of the most effective weapons in the hands of Southern whites was the terrorizing and intimidation of the ignorant negroes and their unprincipled white leaders. This was done systematically in many districts through secret organizations, the most famous of which was the so-called "Ku-Klux Klan." It probably had its origin in a society of idle young fellows in a rural

county of Tennessee, organized for the harmless purpose of playing practical jokes on the negroes of the vicinity. It was soon found to be an effective method of reducing the arrogance and political ambitions of the freedmen, and its methods were adopted throughout the South. At first employing for harmless purposes the mysterious methods of darkness, disguise and blood-sealed oaths, it soon adopted more violent and lawless plans, under the provocation of "carpet-bag" rule. Torture, abduction, imprisonment, plunder, flogging, murder were all resorted to for the purpose of keeping the newly enfranchised negroes in such terror and submission that they dared not vote. The members being sworn to protect each other to the extent of perjury or even death, the widespread character of the movement made the detection or conviction of the perpetrators of outrages almost impossible. Though the best element of the Southern people were not directly associated with the work of these Klans after they began the policy of using criminal methods, it is certain that many respectable men lent their support in the shape of silence, and often more substantial aid, to further the purposes of the organization.

599. The Loyal League. — At about the same time with the first organization of the Ku-Klux Klan appeared societies of negroes, Northerners and Southern whites of Northern sympathies. These were known as Loyal Leagues. Their purpose was the opposite of that which animated the Ku-Klux Klan, being, namely, to protect the

newly enfranchised negroes in their rights as men and citizens. The methods of the Loyal League did not differ greatly from those of their opponents, and when the two organizations came into collision the results were often terrible. The organization of both societies was both natural and just, but the extreme measures which characterized their campaigns were never justified.

600. More Meddling by Congress.—At this critical time, when the old society at the South was overturned and the new had not yet become established, Congress again began to assert its authority. On May 31, 1870, an act was passed for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Instead of proceeding against the states, the only Constitutional course, Congress provided severe penalties against local officers and private persons who by any means or any pretense deprived others of their right to vote. It supplemented this act by another on February 28, 1871, placing the control of elections, state as well as Congressional, since they occurred at the same time, entirely in the hands of United States officers.[1] But still not satisfied, Congress, in response to a special message from President Grant, who during his first term had become radical in his views, passed a law April 20, 1871, known as the *Ku-Klux Act,* in which it arrogated to itself the right and duty to interfere in elections and to prosecute on its own behalf any attempt to disfranchise a legal voter. It provided that the inability,

[1] These acts are known in history as the "Force Acts."

VIEW OF WASHINGTON

In foreground, the Smithsonian Institution; at left background, the Capitol; at right of Capitol, the Library of Congress; at right in foreground, National Museum.

neglect or refusal of any state to protect the rights of its citizens would require the intervention of the United States government, and if such intervention was not called for it was to be volunteered by the president, supported by the military arm. It also gave to the president power to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in any part of the country. The first occasion to use this authority occurred in South Carolina. After several proclamations warning the people of his power and intention to intervene in case the conspiracies against the state governments were not broken up, Grant ordered the United States army into one district of the state, arrested several hundred persons, kept them in long confinement and finally approved the conviction of several and their sentence to fine and imprisonment.

601. The Election of 1872.—These acts and the increasing tendency of Congress and the President to proceed to more harsh measures was having an effect upon the people. The Democrats of the North were united in their bitter denunciation of the radical policy to which the administration had come, and they were joined by many of the most prominent Republicans, such as Horace Greeley, Charles Francis Adams, Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, Carl Schurz, Horace White and David A. Wells. This Republican bolt, though not entirely responsible for the candidacy of Greeley for the presidency in 1872 (Section 614) gave impetus to that movement. However, Grant, renominated for president,

with Henry Wilson as candidate for vice-president, carried the whole North upon other issues and gained the vote of several Southern states where the Republican carpet-bag government was still in control. The effect of Grant's triumph was to encourage the carpet-baggers and to dishearten the respectable element in their efforts for reform.

602. The Triumph of the Conservative Policy.—The people, in spite of their election of Grant, grew tired of oppressive measures. Congress was compelled to heed the growing sentiment and by an Amnesty Act, May 22, 1872, the political disqualification of Confederate leaders, excepting those who had previously held positions of honor or trust under the United States, were removed, entitling them to participate in elections. The Supreme Court supported, by several decisions, the movement toward conservatism. It declared an act passed by Congress in 1875, guaranteeing equality in the treatment of whites and negroes in public places, to be unconstitutional. It also nullified the most important provisions of the Ku-Klux Act, and, though upholding in the important case of *Texas versus White* the contention that Congress had power to reconstruct the seceded states, it distinctly declared that they had remained states throughout the war. In the famous "Slaughter House Cases" of 1873, it decided that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments should be strictly construed and that the states should be left free to regulate their own internal affairs, without interference from the national government.

In several states, notably Alabama, Texas and Arkansas, the whites, who had gone in a body to the Democratic party, regained control. In others the increased activity of the respectable element was the signal for renewed opposition and oppression from those in power. In Louisiana a long contest resulted in much bloodshed, the net result of which was to reinstate the Republican government by means of the aid of United States troops. In South Carolina, however, D. H. Chamberlain, a first a carpet-bagger, was again chosen after a bitter contest, but as governor administered affairs with such ability, honesty and vigor that he saved the state from the disgrace of further mob and foreign rule. In Mississippi honored members of the community resorted to "forcible persuasion" to secure control of the organs of government. By methods of intimidation and illegal repeating at the polls, a Democratic legislature was elected in 1875; the Republican governor was impeached and forced to leave the state, and the Democratic candidates were placed in control. Throughout the nation the rising discontent with the policy of Congress, coupled with other issues, such as the financial panic of 1873, combined to place the Democrats in control of the House of Representatives in 1875, indeed, almost caused them to win the presidential election of 1876 (Section 617).

603. The End of Reconstruction.—The new president, Rutherford B. Hayes, in his inaugural address declared his determination to withdraw the support of the United

States army from the state governments of Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina, in order that just and orderly civil governments should be reëstablished. He was true to his word and the Republican governors of the three states, to whom he himself owed his election, were superseded by Democratic officials. The result of his policy was to firmly establish the peace and order for which all good men had long been striving, though often with more zeal than wisdom.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES

604. Conclusion.—The perils of civil war were such as to try the courage of the bravest men, but those of reconstruction called for a sacrifice and patience no less heroic.

" . . . For ten years the dark night of domination by the negro and adventurer had rested upon the unhappy section, until it had been reduced to the very abomination of desolation. Broken in health and fortune, sick at heart, conscious of the terrible degradation which had been imposed upon them, and politically ostracized, the better part of the white population of the South had staggered and groped through the hideous experience of this period, and such of them as

had not perished during the awful passage had now at last been relieved of the frightful scourge, and half dazed, as if just recovering from a terrible nightmare, found themselves again in the places of power and responsibility."

. . . . . .

"Slavery was a great wrong, and secession was an error and a terrible blunder, but reconstruction was a punishment so far in excess of the crime that it extinguished every sense of culpability upon the part of those whom it was sought to convict and convert." [1]

The political result of reconstruction is the "solid South." Possessed of an enduring hatred of the party which it considers responsible for its misfortunes, it has been a conspicuous factor in the political situation of the United States for more than a quarter of a century.

QUESTIONS

Was the accepted theory of reconstruction identical with any of the following: "state suicide"; "conquered province"; Wade-Davis; Lincoln's theory? In what way, if any, did it differ from each of these? How did Johnson's policy differ from Lincoln's, if at all?

Has the president power to remove cabinet officers? Is such power advantageous to the public service?

What is universal manhood suffrage? Does it prevail in the United States today?

Which of the last three amendments to the Constitution do you consider most important? Why?

By reference to your note-book write a two-hundred-word theme upon the subject *Slavery in the United States*, telling of its introduction, development, decline and extinction, and its political, social and industrial results.

How did "carpet-bag" government arise? What were its chief characteristics and results? How was it terminated?

Enumerate five acts of Congress indicating its purpose to reduce the position of the executive.

What does the Constitution say of impeachment? What would have been the probable result of impeachment from a constitutional standpoint?

Did Hayes overturn or did he complete Congressional reconstruction? Can you find any clause in the Constitution which empowers Congress to reconstruct state governments?

[1] Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution.*

REFERENCES

For collateral reading upon this chapter, see the *References* at the end of the preceding chapter. Consult, also, Dunning's *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction*, Stanwood's *A History of the Presidency*, McCulloch's *Men and Measures of Half a Century*; the following volumes of the American Commonwealth series: *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Kentucky*, *Missouri*, *Texas*, *Louisiana* and *Georgia*; Dawes's *Sumner*, in the Makers of America series, and Hart's *History Told by Contemporaries*, vol. iv, ch. xxiii.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Ku-Klux Klan organized	1866
Tenure of Office Act passed; Reconstruction Acts passed	Feb., 1867
Constitutions adopted by Southern states	Mar. to May, 1867
Secretary Stanton dismissed	Feb. 21, 1868
Resolution of impeachment passed	Feb. 22, 1868
Senate organized as court of impeachment	Mar. 5, 1868
Trial begun	Mar. 30, 1868
Acquittal proclaimed	May 26, 1868
Southern states, excepting Mississippi, Texas and Virginia, admitted to Congress	June, 1868
Ratification of Fourteenth Amendment announced	July 28, 1868
Grant elected president	Nov., 1868
Carpet-bag régime in the South	1868–1876
Fifteenth Amendment passed by Congress	Feb. 26, 1869
Admission of Virginia	Jan., 1870
Admission of Mississippi	Feb., 1870
Admission of Texas	Mar., 1870
Admission of Georgia	July, 1870
Acts of Congress enforcing amendments	1870 and 1871
Ku-Klux Act passed	Apr. 20, 1871
Amnesty Act passed	May 22, 1872
Reëlection of Grant	Nov., 1872
Reconstruction decisions of Supreme Court	1873–1876
Election of Hayes; end of reconstruction	1876

CHAPTER IX

OTHER EVENTS OF THE DECADE

1866-1876

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—The student should remember that many of the events narrated in this chapter are contemporaneous with reconstruction, and are placed by themselves only that the narrative in the two preceding chapters may be continuous.

Mark the change in treatment of the United States by Great Britain after the successful ending of the Civil War, and notice the far-reaching effect of the principle of arbitration introduced into the Treaty of Washington.

Study the influence of the Pacific railways upon the development of the country.

What are the evils of the spoils system, and to what extent were they remedied by the introduction of civil service reform in Arthur's administration?

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605. Grant as President.—General Grant's military success carried him into the presidency. He was upright, honest and determined, but he was entirely without experience in the management of civil affairs or in dealing with political leaders, and was not conversant with the finances of the nation. He failed to offset this disadvantage by choosing a strong cabinet, but instead chose for his advisers personal friends. Elihu B. Washburn of Illinois was appointed secretary of state, but resigned in a few weeks to become minister to France, and was succeeded by Hamilton Fish of New York, who continued in the position through Grant's two terms and brought great credit to the government by his able statesmanship.

Frequent changes occurred in the other cabinet positions throughout the administration.

606. Treaty of Washington.—Several disputes with foreign nations engaged President Grant's attention. The most important of these was with Great Britain, whose hostile attitude during the war was a constant source of irritation. During the previous administration our minister to England had attempted to secure indemnity for damages done by Confederate cruisers fitted out in British ports, but without success. In 1869 a treaty was negotiated, but it practically ignored the question of claims and the attitude of the British government toward the United States during the war, and it was rejected by the Senate.

THE ALABAMA
The most famous Confederate privateer.

In 1871 the British government proposed a joint commission to settle the question connected with the Canadian fisheries. Secretary Fish replied that the "Alabama Claims" would first have to be considered. Before this, the government had assumed the private claims and had settled with the claimants, thus placing an entirely new aspect upon the controversy, for Great Britain was then compelled to settle with the United States instead of with private individuals. Consequently, after much correspondence, a joint high commission was appointed and met in Washington, February 27, 1871. This commission

consisted of five Americans, headed by Hamilton Fish and E. R. Hoar, and five Englishmen, led by Earl de Gray and Sir John McDonald. This commission completed its work on May 8. The treaty provided for the settlement of all points in controversy by arbitration. The important questions were those growing out of the Canadian fisheries, the boundary line in the Gulf of Georgia, between Vancouver Island and the mainland, and all claims of citizens of either country against the other arising from the Civil War. The treaty was immediately ratified by both governments.

The boundary line in the Gulf of Georgia was referred to the emperor of Germany, who decided in favor of the United States, giving to this country the group of islands at the head of the gulf. The fisheries dispute was referred to another commission but has never been decided.

The action of Great Britain during the Civil War was in marked contrast to the conduct of our government in relation to the Fenian movement in 1866. This concerned an Irish organization whose purpose was to overthrow British rule in Ireland and establish a republic. During the war many Fenians obtained military training in the armies of both sides, and in 1866 they attempted to invade Canada at two points, one near Buffalo and the other near Saint Albans, Vt. The leaders were promptly arrested by the United States authorities, and the forces were compelled to disband.

607. The Alabama Claims.—The Alabama Claims were pressed by citizens of the United States against Great

Britain for damages inflicted by Confederate cruisers that were fitted out in British ports during the Civil War. They take their name from the most successful of these cruisers, the *Alabama*, though the *Shenandoah*, the *Florida* and others were also conspicuous (Section 539, 3). The Treaty of Washington provided that these and all other claims arising from the war should be submitted to an arbitration commission of five, one to be appointed by the president of the United States, one by the queen of Great Britain, one by the king of Italy, one by the president of Switzerland and one by the emperor of Brazil. Those appointed were Charles Francis Adams of the United States; Sir Alexander Cockburn, lord chief justice of England; Count Fredrigo Sclopis, by the king of Italy; M. Jacques Staemfli, by the president of Switzerland, and Viscount Itajuba, by the emperor of Brazil. The commission met in Geneva, Switzerland, December 15, 1871, and remained in session until the fourteenth of the following September, when the final award was signed. The commission rejected the claims of the United States for indirect damages, such as prolonging the war and increasing the expense, and for general damage to American commerce, but awarded this country

THE SHENANDOAH
A Confederate cruiser.

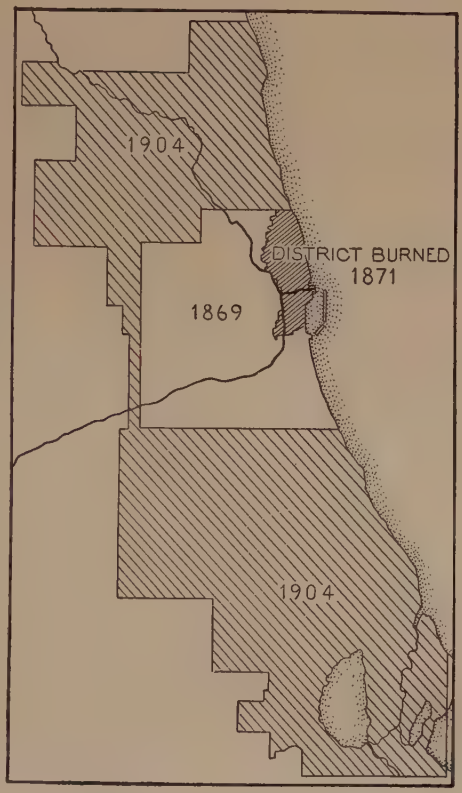
$15,500,000 for damages inflicted directly by Confederate cruisers, for whose construction and escape from British ports they held the British government responsible.

608. Pacific Railroads.—Public attention was slowly turned from the quarrel over reconstruction to the industrial and financial needs of the country. A railroad to the Pacific coast had been deemed possible for a number of years, and in 1862 Congress made large grants of land to companies that agreed to construct a line of railway from some point on the Missouri River to San Francisco. During the war the work dragged, and for some time it was difficult to interest capitalists in the enterprise. As a further inducement, therefore, in 1864 the land grant was raised to ten sections per mile of road constructed, and this was supplemented with United States bonds varying from sixteen thousand to forty-eight thousand dollars a mile, according to the expense of construction. From this time the work went forward rapidly. The Central Pacific, starting at Sacramento, was projected eastward, while the Union Pacific, starting at Omaha, was extended westward. These lines met at Promontory Point, near Salt Lake City, May 10, 1869. The last tie was laid and the golden spike was driven in the presence of a large concourse of people, including many distinguished men. The Northern Pacific was completed in 1883 and others have since followed, so that in 1906, including the Canadian Pacific, there were six lines extending across the continent.

609. Credit Mobilier.—The Credit Mobilier was a company organized under the laws of Pennsylvania in 1859 as the Pennsylvania Fiscal Agency, and was composed of capitalists who contracted to construct the Pacific railroad. Through Oakes Ames and one or two other congressmen they sold its stock to members of Congress at par, although the actual value was much greater, thus allaying opposition to the road. The transaction, when made public, became one of the greatest political scandals in our history. President Grant and others high in authority were accused of being involved, but it seems clear that none was guilty of evil intent. A thorough investigation showed that Ames had never asked votes in return for his favor and that his only object was to secure the completion of the railroad, which he felt was for the best interests of the country. Nevertheless, he was censured by the House and died soon after.

610. Development of the West.—The country was generally prosperous and had sufficient revenue to meet the interest on the public debt of two and a half billion dollars and to gradually reduce the principal. In Europe there was a good demand for American farm produce, and prices were uniformly high. The extension of railways and the easy terms upon which government land could be obtained, enabled men of means to acquire and utilize extensive tracts of land in the west, which they used for the special purposes to which each was best adapted. So stockraising became the principal industry on the plains,

and the raising of wheat, in the northwest. Minnesota, Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas and Colorado developed rapidly in population and wealth, the last-named being admitted into the Union in 1876, thus becoming known as the "Centennial State." With the completion of the Pacific railroads the trend of immigration continued westward until the coast was reached, and Oregon and Washington were soon being developed.



TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF CHICAGO

611. The Chicago Fire. — In 1871, one of the most destructive fires in history swept over Chicago. The fire began on the evening of October 8, in the western part of the city, and spread eastward until October 10. The burned district covered three and a half square miles and included

all the business portion of the city. The loss of property was estimated at two hundred ninety million dollars; 17,450 buildings were destroyed and 98,500 people were rendered homeless. With characteristic energy the inhabitants planned for rebuilding on a larger scale; and a greater and more substantial city rose rapidly from the ruins.

612. The Tweed Ring.—From 1853 to 1855 William M. Tweed of New York represented his district in Congress. Later he secured control of Tammany Hall,[1] and through this, of the city government of New York. Associated with him were A. Oakley Hall, Peter B. Sweeny and Richard B. Conolly, the four men constituting the famous "Tweed Ring." Through bribery and intimidation, especially among the foreign element, the ring manipulated elections and secured all the important offices. In 1866 Hall was elected mayor, Sweeny city and county treasurer, Tweed superintendent of the department of streets and Conolly city comptroller. The ring had been instrumental in securing a new city charter which gave them absolute control of the appropriations, and for six years the greatest corruption characterized the management of New York's affairs. The debt was increased from

[1] Tammany Hall is the name assumed by the Democratic political organization of New York City. The name was adapted from that of an Indian chief, Tamanend, famous for his nobility of character. Societies bearing the same name flourished in all parts of the country during the Revolutionary and early national periods, and were of a patriotic nature. The present organization dates from about 1789 and early turned its attention to politics, affiliating with the Democratic-Republicans, the forerunners of the present Democratic party. Since that time its influence has been marked, and it has become notorious for its unprincipled leaders and corrupt methods.

$20,000,000 to $101,000,000, and Tweed and his partners accumulated immense fortunes. In 1871 the ring was overthrown, chiefly through the efforts of Samuel J. Tilden, a prominent Democrat, and Thomas Nast, whose cartoons had remarkable influence upon the people. Tweed was

CHICAGO AFTER THE FIRE
A general view of the ruins, looking northwest from Michigan Avenue and Madison Street.

sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment, and died in prison. The other members fled the country and never returned.

613. Political Scandals.—Both terms of Grant's administration were marred by political scandals. The system of rotation in office had taken the appointments practically out of the hands of the president and placed them with politicians. The spoils system invaded every branch of

the government; offices were multiplied and fabulous salaries were paid to the henchmen of political bosses. In 1871 an attempt was made to reform these abuses, and the president was authorized to appoint a board of commissioners to reform the civil service. (See Section 627.)

Some of the worst scandals were connected with the collection of revenue. In 1874 Hon. Benjamin H. Bristow became secretary of the treasury. He at once began reorganizing the department and improving the methods of collecting internal revenue. Bristow's fearless removals and searching investigations soon exposed and ended numerous fraudulent practices. His most famous triumph was the defeat of the "Whisky Ring," an organization of distillers which for years had been robbing the government of millions of dollars by withholding the tax upon whisky. The ring had contributed liberally to the Republican campaign fund, and the members were shielded by politicians high in the councils of the party. Through the employment of a secret agent, Secretary Bristow was enabled to expose the conspiracy, which involved President Grant's private secretary, the chief clerk in the treasury department and several other high officials. A number of these were tried and convicted.

614. The Grant and Greeley Campaign.—A strong opposition to the administration's measures in the South developed in the Republican party soon after Grant's inauguration. In 1870 the party in Missouri split into two wings, the radical wing supporting the administration, and the

other, styling themselves "Liberal Republicans," opposing the methods used in the South and demanding general amnesty and universal suffrage. The fusion of this wing with the Democrats swung that state to the latter party and elected B. Gratz Brown governor. The principles of the Liberal Republicans had been advocated by Horace Greeley in the New York *Tribune* since the close of the war, and he was one of the foremost advocates of leniency toward the South. On May 1, 1872, the new party met in national convention in Cincinnati and nominated Greeley for president and Brown for vice-president. The Republican national convention met at Philadelphia June 5, and renominated Grant, with Henry Wilson of Massachusetts

HORACE GREELEY
[From a photograph from life.]

for vice-president. The Democratic national convention met in Baltimore June 9, and by unanimous vote accepted the platform and candidates of the Liberal Republicans.

The situation was anomalous: Grant, originally a Democrat, was the leader of the Republicans, and Greeley, for twenty years the foremost opponent of the Democratic party, was selected for its standard bearer. The campaign was very bitter. The public scandals connected with the administration were in a great measure offset by the connection of the Democrats with Tammany and the "Tweed Ring." While as an editor Greeley's influence had been great, for since its foundation the *Tribune* had been the leading organ of his party, he lacked the qualifications for the presidency and as the canvass progressed he rapidly lost ground. The election gave Grant and Wilson 286 electoral votes and Grant's plurality was nearly three-quarters of a million.

Had Greeley lived he probably would have received sixty votes, but before the day fixed for the official count, the great editor died, on November 29, 1872.

615. Financial Panics.—In 1869 a panic occurred in Wall Street, on account of an attempt by the firm of Gould and Fisk to corner gold. On September 24, frequently referred to as "Black Friday," several firms of brokers failed. Fortunately, the panic was stopped by a sale of gold by the government in time to prevent widespread financial distress, so that no serious damage was inflicted upon the country.

Another panic of a much more serious nature occurred in 1873 and was the beginning of a prolonged period of financial and industrial depression. This was due to the unnecessary expansion of railway systems,[1] causing the use of wealth in unproductive ways; to the lowering of prices of agricultural produce incident upon the opening of the great agricultural regions in the Northwest; to the consequent fluctuation of prices of many of the most common necessities, and to the constant export of gold to Europe to meet the interest on loans and for paying the cost of transportation on imported goods. On September 19, Jay Cook & Company and a number of other prominent New York banking firms failed, spreading disaster through

GERONIMO
A famous Apache chief.

[1] Between 1869 and 1873, over twenty-five thousand miles of railroad were built in the United States.

all the commercial centers. As usual, there was a strenuous demand for an increase of currency, and Congress passed a bill authorizing the increase of legal tender currency to $400,000,000,[1] but it was vetoed by the President. The panic led to a careful study of the financial situation, and this in turn to the Resumption Act of 1875. (See Section 624.)

616. Indian Troubles.—The tribes of Indians that had been located in Indian Territory—the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw and Seminole—had made excellent progress in civilization, and in 1874 the territory contained no less than ninety thousand civilized Indians, possessing their own written language and constitutions. These people maintained a good school system, including schools of secondary grade, sustained courts of law and were successful farmers.

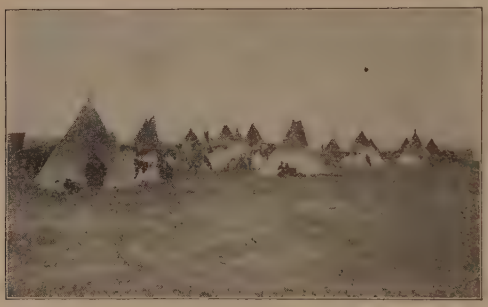
Their condition inspired the President with a desire to improve the other tribes by placing them on reservations. But his plan was opposed by Congress and by the Indians themselves. The supervision of Indian affairs was then given to an Indian commission composed of members of various religious bodies. For a time this pacified the disaffected tribes, but the systematic swindling by contractors and consequent suffering of the Indians, soon aroused much of the old discontent. The construction

[1] This bill legalized a previous issue by Secretary Richardson of $26,000,000 in legal tender notes which had been put into circulation by the purchase of United States bonds. This issue brought the total of outstanding legal tenders to the enormous sum of $382,000,000; but Congress, seized by a mania for inflation, extended this amount by $18,000,000.

EAGLE HEART
A Sioux Indian.

of railways in their territory and the constant advancement of the frontier civilization, combined with the unjust treatment they received from agents entrusted with the administration of Indian affairs, led to several outbreaks between 1870 and 1880.

In Arizona the Apaches continued on the warpath until they nearly ruined the industries of the territory. During their raids over five hundred people were killed and thousands of dollars in property destroyed. Attempts to pacify these Indians were fruitless; severe measures were found necessary to subdue them. Since then they have been kept under strict surveillance.



CAMP OF SITTING BULL
At Standing Rock, North Dakota.

In 1872 trouble arose with the Modocs over the reservation system, which for special reasons displeased them, and before they were finally defeated General E. R. S. Canby and several companions lost their lives.

By far the most disastrous of the Indian conflicts was with the Sioux. In 1875 a large number of these Indians, led by Sitting Bull, refused to sign a treaty surrendering certain tracts of land and binding them to remain on their reservation. In the spring of 1876 three detachments of

United States troops, under Generals Gibbon, Crook and Terry, set out to capture Sitting Bull and his followers and compel them to submit. Terry advanced up the Yellowstone as far as the Rosebud, where Lieutenant Colonel Custer, with six hundred cavalry, was detached to make a detour to the south. On June 25 Custer struck Sitting Bull's trail in the valley of the Little Big Horn. There he divided his forces and sent twelve companies under Major

AN INDIAN WAR DANCE
Modern scene of the Western plains.

Reno to cross the river and strike the enemy from the west. While thus weakened Custer suddenly came upon the main body of the Sioux, who far outnumbered his forces, and attacked them. He and every one of his followers were slain. This massacre led to vigorous measures

on the part of the government, and the war was ended the next year. Sitting Bull[1] and a number of his followers escaped to Canada, but returned in 1880, having received a promise of amnesty.

617. The Campaign of 1876.—During the four years following Grant's second election, the Democrats had been steadily gaining in power. In 1874 they secured a majority in the House of Representatives, and by 1876 they had gained control of most of the state governments in the South and of some of the Northern states. The Republican policy in the South and the scandals connected with the administration alienated many who formerly adhered to that party for the sake of preserving the Union, and the War Democrats, who voted with the Republicans as long as the Union was in danger, now felt at liberty to return to their old allegiance. The two parties were more nearly equal in strength than they had been since 1860. The Republican national convention met in Cincinnati on June 14 and adopted a platform eulogizing their party for its past achievements and charging the Democrats with treason, falsehood and subservience to former rebels. They commended the assumption of specie payments and the use of the Federal powers to secure the rights of American citizens throughout the country. Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio was nominated for president, and

[1] Sitting Bull was a man of more than ordinary ability and was actuated by high patriotism for his race. His efforts were steadily in the direction of freeing his people from the bonds which the whites were drawing constantly closer about them. He was killed in 1890 at the Pine Ridge Agency, by Indians in the employ of the government.

William A. Wheeler of New York for vice-president. The Democratic national convention met in Saint Louis, June 28. Its platform denounced the Republican party and demanded the repeal of the Specie Resumption Act. Samuel J. Tilden of New York was nominated for president and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for vice-president.

NAVAJO INDIAN BOY
In modern hunting costume.

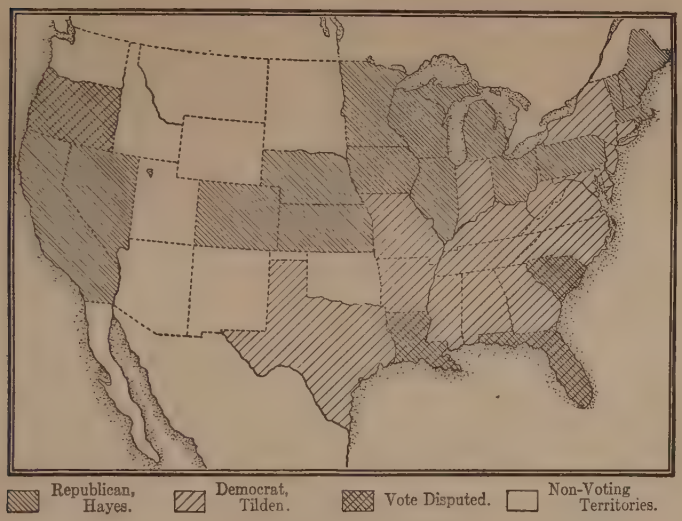
Both parties had nominated strong candidates. Hayes had been governor of Ohio, and his administration was characterized by honesty, economy and strength of purpose. Tilden was known as the leader in the movement that destroyed the "Tweed Ring," and as governor of New York had given the state an excellent administration. At the election the Democrats carried Connecticut, New York,

New Jersey and Indiana in the North, and all of the Southern states except South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, from each of which at least two sets of returns were certified, one in favor of the Hayes electors and one in favor of the Tilden electors. In Oregon the Republican electors were chosen, but the governor, who was a Democrat, withheld his certificate from one who, being a Federal official, was ineligible, and gave it to a Democrat. Three Republican electors were certified by the secretary of state, whereupon the Democratic elector chose two other electors and cast his vote for Tilden.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN
[From a photograph from life.]

Outside of the disputed returns Tilden and Hendricks had 184 electoral votes and Hayes and Wheeler 172.

Were all of the doubtful votes given to the Republicans, Hayes and Wheeler would be elected by a majority of one. If any of these doubtful votes went to the Democrats, Tilden and Hendricks would be elected. The House was Democratic and the Senate Republican. It was impossible



THE ELECTION OF 1876

for the Houses to agree as to which set of votes from each of the doubtful states should be counted. To remove the difficulty Congress created an electoral commission, five members of which were appointed by the Senate, five by the House and five chosen from the justices of the Supreme Court. The commission decided by a partisan vote, eight Republicans to seven Democrats, that its duty was to determine which set of electors in each case was

the one legally certified, and that it could not canvass the popular vote of the states. By the same vote it declared the Republican electors in every case to be legally certified, so that Hayes and Wheeler received 185 votes to 184 for Tilden and Hendricks. The decision was rendered only two days before the date of inauguration.

Notwithstanding the tension and excitement under which the country was placed during the months intervening between the election and the inauguration of President Hayes, when the verdict of the commission was rendered all acquiesced, a striking evidence that the American people had learned to govern themselves.

QUESTIONS

Why was the Treaty of Washington so important? Is it still in force?

Draw an outline map of the United States and trace upon it the different lines of railway extending to the Pacific coast. Which is the oldest? Which was most recently constructed? Have the benefits derived from these roads been such as to justify the liberal grants of land they received from the government?

What made the corrupt practices of the "Tweed Ring" possible? Mention any other similar instances that you can recall.

What was the principal cause of the political scandals during Grant's administration?

What changes in political creed made Greeley the candidate of the Democrats? Were these changes suddenly made?

What other financial panics have been produced by causes similar to those operating in 1873?

Why were the parties so nearly equal in strength in 1876? Was there any radical difference in their platforms?

REFERENCES

For a detailed account of the period, see Andrews's *History of the United States in our Own Time*, chs. i-vii. Johnston's *American Politics*, chs. xii-xxiii, gives a concise account of the political situation. The cause and results of the Panic of 1873 are accurately described in Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, pp. 370-372; the diplomatic events, in Foster's *A Century of American Diplomacy*, ch. xi. Consult also Channing's *Student's History of the United States*, pp. 567-573; McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, pp. 479-498; Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, ch. xii; Church's *U. S. Grant*, pp. 361-423, and Hart's *Source Book*, Nos. 133, 134 and 135.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Congressional railroad grants	1862 and 1864
Election of Grant	1868
Completion of Union Pacific railroad	1869
Treaty of Washington ratified; Chicago fire; overthrow of "Tweed Ring"	1871
Alabama Claims settled; reëlection of Grant; death of Greeley; Modoc Indian War	1872
Credit Mobilier exposure; financial panic	1873
Exposure of national political scandals	1874
Admission of Colorado; Sioux Indian uprising, Custer Massacre; election of Hayes	1876

CHAPTER X

THE NATION'S FIRST CENTENNIAL

1776-1876

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—This chapter is retrospective, but with a broader view than has been given in the preceding summaries. Unless the incidents mentioned are readily recalled, the student should review them, since it will be impossible to understand the chapter without having these clearly in mind. Effort should also be made to trace the effect of principles of government upon political history and upon the prevailing view concerning the authority of the national government.

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618. The Centennial Year.—As the hundredth anniversary of the nation's independence approached, there was a general desire to recognize the day and the year in an appropriate manner. During the century of its existence, the United States had expanded from thirteen straggling colonies, with an area of little more than a quarter of a million square miles and a population of less than three millions, to a nation occupying half a continent, having an area of more than three and a half million square miles, including thirty-seven states and ten territories, and with a population of forty millions. Its wealth was nearly thirty-eight billions of dollars, and exceeded $646 *per capita*. The value of farms and farm property was eight billions and of farm products one and one-half billions; while manufactures had grown from nothing to an

annual value of more than four and a half billions. The foreign trade exceeded a billion dollars, and the receipts of the government for 1876 were two hundred ninety

LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD

A monument on Bedloe's Island in New York harbor, designed by Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of American independence, and presented to the United States by the French government in 1885. The figure is 151 feet high, and the whole monument measures 305 feet 11 inches above mean tide.

million dollars. There were seventy thousand miles of railway in the country; telegraph lines extended across the continent and reached every important city and

village. The government had established over thirty thousand post offices, and about seven thousand newspapers and periodicals were published. During the centennial year facilities for communication were materially increased by the invention of the telephone, by Alexander G. Bell.

ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL

The people were recovering from the financial panic of 1873 (Section 615); they were at peace with all the world, and the bitterness engendered by the Civil War had largely disappeared; all sections and classes were anxious to join in a celebration worthy of the occasion.

An exhibition of the arts, industries and resources of the country seemed to be the most suitable manner in which the progress of the century could be shown. The plan for such an exhibition was broached as early as 1866 by Mr. John Bigelow of Philadelphia, formerly United States minister to France. At first the proposition met with

little favor, but the press of the country took up the cause, the state legislatures of Pennsylvania and other states urged Congress to act, and finally a bill providing for the exposition passed Congress in March, 1871. The bill created a commission consisting of one delegate from each

THE PENN COTTAGE
Built by order of William Penn before his arrival in America in 1682. In 1876 it was removed to the scene of the exposition in Fairmount Park, where it is still preserved.

state and territory, but provided that "The United States should not be liable for any expense attending the exposition or by reason of the same." The following year a board of finance was created to provide funds, Philadelphia was chosen as the most appropriate city for holding the exposition and a portion of Fairmount Park was set apart as the site.

The original plan was to allow only United States exhibits to enter, but eventually the exposition included the civilized nations of the world. In response to President Grant's invitation thirty-one nations were represented. On May 10 the exposition was opened with imposing ceremonies. The exhibits were housed in five large buildings and numerous smaller ones. The large buildings were the wonder of all beholders, though in more recent expositions they have been far surpassed in size and beauty.

JOHN WANAMAKER'S BIRTHPLACE
The house in which Philadelphia's noted merchant-philanthropist was born in 1838.

The exposition continued for six months; before it closed over 9,700,000 people had passed through the gates. The attendance exceeded by nearly a million that of any other world's fair that had then been held.

The Centennial Exposition was the first great world's fair in America, and while it was held primarily to com-

memorate the beginning of the nation, it was equally important as a revelation of industrial progress. The comparison of American manufactures with those of other countries, while not discreditable to the American artisan, revealed numerous lines in which foreign workmen excelled and led to efforts toward improvement. The display of the resources of the country gave all who visited the Exposition a more comprehensive idea of the wealth and possibilities of the United States. Moreover, the exposition harmonized interests and welded sections by bringing together people from every state and enlisting them in a common patriotic enterprise.

619. The Nation's Political Development.—From time to time accounts of the political and material progress of the country have been given in these pages. This progress led to the development of peculiar national character and ideals, which before the centennial year had already made their influence felt far beyond American shores. It will be profitable, then, to trace the development of those principles which, at the end of the first century of the United States as a nation, represented to the peoples of the world the spirit of its institutions.

That all men were created equal; that they were born to certain inalienable rights; that the State existed for the individual, were principles generally accepted by Englishmen long before American colonization began. Through a century and a half of struggle and growth the colonies maintained those ideals; not consistently nor even

tolerantly, but always earnestly. Gradually the influences of a new country with its free and unlimited resources developed in them a liberality which even outran the freedom of English institutions, and when, in spite of the ties of affection and tradition, they declared their independence, they stood almost alone for the generous principle that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." They were also united in the conviction that political equality was essential to

WILLIAM PENN
A fearless exponent of free institutions, one of the founders of American liberty. [From a painting by Inman, in Independence Hall.]

security and progress. That idea exerted ever-increasing influence upon their political life and shaped their government from village to nation. The spirit of democracy or of social equality also pervaded the country, leading to unusual consideration of the rights of the individual and to a recognition of the worth and dignity of every man. This found expression in almost all government measures.

The working out of these ideas resulted in the establishment of a dual government, in which nation and state was each supreme over its own affairs, the national authority being extended only as circumstances made the extension necessary. After the stress of the Revolutionary War was over it was discovered that the power exercised by Congress was due to influence more than government, and that the Union was in danger of dissolution because of the lack of authority in the general government. To so adjust the Federal and state governments as to give the former requisite authority without encroaching upon the authority of the latter in the management of local affairs, was the problem solved by the Constitution.

The success or failure of the United States as an experiment in government was a matter of grave concern to other nations. The friends of liberty, both in America and Europe, believed the cause of the Americans to be the cause of all mankind.

"The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a country, a province or a kingdom, but of a continent

—of at least one-eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year or an age: posterity are virtually involved in the contest and will be more or less affected even to the end of time by the proceedings now."[1]

American political ideas were antagonistic to monarchical institutions. The nations of Europe not only doubted the success of the experiment in America, but, with few exceptions, they did not wish the new nation to succeed. The king of England tried to accomplish by intrigue and diplomacy what he had failed to accomplish by force. For years both France and England used the United States as a tool for the accomplishment of their purposes against each other. The new nation received tardy recognition by the other countries of Europe, and her representatives to foreign powers were often subjected to humiliating experiences.

But the United States was not to be denied her natural place among nations. Before the War of 1812 she had announced principles of international law that are now universally recognized (Section 343), and by the achievements of her navy during that war she compelled respect. By the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine she saved the American continent to republican institutions.

620. Results.—The political development of the United States was attended by certain special results which exerted marked influence upon political theory and practice in all parts of the world.

[1] Thomas Paine, *Common Sense.*

1. The Lesson of Liberty.—The difference between liberty and license, as exemplified in the French and English ideas of liberty (Section 356), was clearly shown in American institutions. Here, national, state and local governments were so closely related that within its own sphere each was independent, but all officials were subject to laws made by the representatives of majorities to which the laws applied. While the fullest freedom of speech, of the press and of the ballot was allowed, this liberty was kept within the pale of law and was never allowed to encroach upon private rights. As a result, the American people were liberty-loving, law-abiding, accustomed to think for themselves and to act upon their own opinions. Some, it is true, still slavishly followed party leaders, but the majority of voters cast their ballots after careful consideration of men and measures, and strove to elect intelligent, competent and conscientious officials. This political example was effective in extending the franchise in England, France and other European countries.

2. An Educated People.—That "Providence has given to every human being a degree of reason necessary to direct himself in the affairs which interest him exclusively," was declared by De Tocqueville to be the grand maxim on which civil and political society in the United States rests.[1]

That reason may be founded upon understanding, education is necessary, and the common school was early founded in all the colonies. These schools were soon fol-

[1] De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America.*

lowed by institutions of higher education—Harvard (1639), William and Mary (1693), Yale (1701), Princeton (1746), Dartmouth (1750) and Brown (1764). Grammar schools and academies, where boys could secure the necessary preparation to enable them to enter the higher institutions, in time sprang up in all parts of the country; after the Revolutionary War provision was made for the education of girls.

OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE
Showing the present appearance of the interior of this historic church, so intimately associated with the birth of the Republic.

"With matchless wisdom they [the early statesmen] joined liberty and learning in a perpetual and holy alliance, binding the latter to bless every child with instruction which the former invests with the rights and duties of citizenship. They made education and sovereignty coextensive by making both universal."[1]

The work of education was not confined to the schools. From the advent of the first newspaper (*The Boston News-Letter*, 1704) the press became an important factor in instructing the people and molding public opinion. Before the Centennial year, newspapers, periodicals and books were so numerous and inexpensive that they were within the reach of all. Except in the Southern states, where

[1] E. E. White.

slavery had left its blight of ignorance, the percentage of illiteracy was low—Americans had become a reading as well as a thinking people. They were not excelled in practical intelligence by the people of any other nation.

3. Separation of Church and State.—While the relations between Church and State which existed in England were in a measure continued in the colonies, the separation of these institutions was early seen to be necessary to the success of free government. The influence of the Church in government affairs waned accordingly, until, when the states adopted new constitutions after the Revolutionary War, that influence vanished.

4. Religious Tolerance.—The Puritans and Quakers removed to America that they might be free from the persecutions of the Church of England, yet the Puritans were as intolerant as their persecutors. They banished the Baptists, Quakers and other dissenting sects, and disfranchised those in their midst who would not join their church. In other colonies, though not settled wholly for religious purposes, the same war of doctrines prevailed. But before the Revolution, religious toleration had gained a foothold, and when independence was achieved, the members of the different denominations had acquired sincere respect for one another. With the extension of education the old prejudices rapidly disappeared. The work of the Christian Commission during the Civil War and the great temperance movements that

swept over the land in the years following, bore testimony to the readiness of the members of the various religious sects to unite in great national movements for the uplifting of the people.

HENRY WARD BEECHER
Apostle of civil and religious freedom. A statue by J. Q. A. Ward, in Brooklyn.

5. Material Prosperity. — With a free government, free schools and free churches, the people of the United States were able to exercise their talents with the least possible hindrance. Their minds were turned to the development of the vast and varied resources of the country, under conditions calculated to produce the best possible results. The rapid material development of the country during the first century of its national existence is therefore not surprising. The foundations of this advancement lay in its social and political institutions, founded upon the most sacred of human rights—"the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and the free-

dom to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience.

621. Conclusion. — The nation had stood the test of time and the stress of a great civil war. At the dawn of the centennial year the wounds caused by the struggle were largely healed; the united country moved forward to new triumphs in material, intellectual and moral fields. The vision seen by the founders of the republic had been realized:

"As they mused on the enlargement upon a field like this of political liberty grounded in justice; on the characteristics of the American race—on the Christian idea of man that was molding their institutions—it seemed to them that human progress was about to achieve a fresh impulse, 'as if the New World was to surpass the Old, and the glory of human nature was to receive the highest perfection near the setting sun.' "[1]

QUESTIONS

Why was an international industrial exposition especially appropriate in the centennial year? Why was the exposition held in Philadelphia?

How does the American political system differ from the English system? In what respects do you consider the American system better?

What European nations wished the United States to succeed? Why? Would the success of a republic in America weaken the monarchical governments of Europe? If so, how?

Why were the Puritans as intolerant as their persecutors? How was this intolerance overcome?

REFERENCES

Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic of the United States* contains an excellent discussion of the principles underlying the political system and the political development of the country to about 1870. See, also, Fiske's *American Political Ideas* and Merriam's *American Political Theories.*

Andrews's *History of the United States in Our Own Time*, ch. viii, gives a good account of the Centennial Exposition.

[1] Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic of the United States.*

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT
[From a recent photograph.]

PART THREE

THE ERA OF NATIONAL EXPANSION

1876-1906

PART THREE

THE ERA OF NATIONAL EXPANSION

CHAPTER XI

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DISTURBANCES

1876-1896

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—Compare the causes for the unsettled political conditions in 1876 with those of 1860. At what other times have similar conditions existed? Make a careful study of resumption and the silver legislation and try to grasp the underlying principles of these measures. Account for the rise of the Greenback party. Determine what effect civil service reform has had upon the government. Review the history of tariff legislation from Washington's administration on, and notice the causes and results of each change.

Compare the Columbian Exposition with the Centennial in size, completeness and results.

Study the financial depression of 1893 with reference to the principles underlying resumption and silver legislation; compare the conditions giving rise to it with those which produced similar effects in 1837, 1857 and 1873. Can you state a general principle which accounts in part for all?

Read good encyclopedia articles upon Hawaii, railroads (in the United States), silver, trusts, trades unions, tariff.

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622. Political Conditions.—At the beginning of Hayes's administration the political condition of the country was unsettled. The older statesmen who had been prominent during the periods of war and reconstruction were passing from active life, and younger men were coming to

the front. To them the controversy over reconstruction was an issue of the past; problems arising from the approaching resumption of specie payments, the settlement of the West, the development of great business enterprises and the condition of our foreign trade far outweighed sectional differences. The attention of Congress was shifted from political to economic questions, and with this change the asperity of sectional strife largely disappeared.

President Hayes came into office with a Democratic House and a Republican Senate, and his second Congress was Democratic in both branches. The Democrats, however, lacked unity of purpose and thorough organization, and they gained little advantage from their brief period of power; while, by their attempts to pass objectionable measures by attaching them as "riders" to appropriation bills, they united their Republican opponents and lost public favor.

Hayes determined as far as possible to correct the abuses that had scandalized the country during the previous administration, and to this end he persevered in an independence of action which won the support of the conservative element of all parties and the condemnation of the scheming politicians in the Republican ranks. He recalled the troops from the Southern states, and thus removed a source of constant irritation. He appointed a strong cabinet and made a clean sweep of the officials in the custom house at New York. The appointment most far-reaching in its influence was that of John Sherman of

Ohio to be secretary of the treasury. Excepting Alexander Hamilton and Albert Gallatin, he was probably the greatest secretary of the treasury in our history.

623. Railroad Strikes.—With scarcely an exception, labor organizations opposed contraction of the currency and resumption of specie payment. As the value of currency increased (that is, as prices fell from the high level of war times), wages were lowered, apparently to the injury of the working people. This grievance, coupled with the increasing arrogance of the expanding and multiplying corporations, caused a widespread discontent.

JOHN SHERMAN

The common regulations governing railway employes were exceptionally severe and unjust. When, in 1877, the Baltimore & Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Erie and the New York Central railways cut wages ten per cent and promised only irregular employment, payments at uncertain intervals and enforced patronage of railway hotels, a strike was called on all of the lines of these systems. Rioting, destruction of prop-

erty and bloodshed followed. In Pennsylvania, the militia and finally the United States troops were called out to quiet the disturbances. During the strike fully ten million dollars' worth of property was destroyed.

624. Resumption.—As early as 1866 Congress began to prepare the way for the return to specie payments. The Funding Act, passed in April of that year, provided for converting all the temporary loans into long time bonds, and gave the secretary of the treasury authority at his discretion to retire greenbacks at a rate not to exceed four million dollars a month after the first six months, during which time the retirement should not exceed ten million dollars. The funding of the debt went forward so rapidly that within two years all the temporary loans had been converted into bonds bearing six per cent interest and payable in from five to twenty years. The provision for retiring greenbacks, however, did not prove popular, since it led to contraction of the currency and a consequent fall in prices. After a few months it was abandoned, and in 1868 the law was repealed.

The next great step was the Refunding Act of 1870. The time was fast approaching when a large amount of bonds would be redeemable at the option of the government. So, by the act of 1870, $1,800,000,000 of bonds bearing six per cent interest were refunded at lower rates —$500,000,000 redeemable in ten years at five per cent; $300,000,000 redeemable in fifteen years at four and a half per cent and $1,000,000,000 redeemable in thirty

years at four per cent. The new bonds were made payable in coin and were exempt from both local and national taxation. This measure secured a great saving to the government and established the national credit on a much firmer foundation. It was supplemented by other acts in 1873 and 1874, and in 1875 a law was passed providing for the return to specie payments in all government contracts, including United States notes, on January 1, 1879. During the next four years the secretary also accumulated a supply of gold by the sale of bonds. As this supply increased, the value of greenbacks rose proportionately each year, and on December 17, 1878, the paper currency of the United States was quoted at par for the first time in sixteen years. On January 1, 1879, when the government offered to redeem its notes in gold, few were presented and paper money continued in circulation as before. This was the most important event of Hayes's administration, and the influence of the return of the United States to the payment of its contracts in specie can scarcely be estimated.

Nevertheless, resumption was strenuously opposed by the debtor class, who resided principally in the West. To them the return to specie payments caused some hardship. As the value of currency increased prices declined, while the enormous public debt was undiminished, and those owing private debts incurred during times of inflation faced the necessity of paying them in money of constantly increasing value. As a consequence many

business failures occurred. Nevertheless, the general result of resumption was highly beneficial; it made values more stable and restored the credit of the United States in foreign countries. The return to specie payments was accomplished with little appreciable contraction of the currency, since by the law all redeemed notes were to be reissued in payment of the general expenses of the government.

625. The Bland-Allison Silver Act.—In 1873, as the result of an investigation of the coinage laws, Congress passed an act[1] which omitted the provision for coining the standard silver dollar of 412½ grains.[2] This reversed the long-established policy of the government in favor of free coinage of both gold and silver—that is, the coinage of all the metal brought to the mints. Since little silver had been presented for coinage in many years, the result of this omission would have been slight had not several causes combined to produce a rapid decline in the value of the metal. Two of these were especially important—a number of European countries which had used both gold and silver as money now changed their system to the single gold standard; extensive silver mines were opened in Colorado, Nevada and several other Western states, which

[1] This act has been referred to as the "Crime of '73." This phrase is based upon the supposed purpose of wealthy Eastern bondholders to demonetize silver, thus serving their own interests at the expense of Western debtors and mine owners. Impartial investigation, however, has shown this allegation to be at least unproved.

[2] It authorized the coinage of a silver dollar of 420 grains for use in the Eastern trade. Only a few of these so-called "trade dollars" got into circulation, and these were recalled in 1877.

made the output of silver far exceed that of gold. As the value of silver declined, there was a consequently increasing demand for its coinage, since, when stamped by the government, the value of the silver dollar as a purchasing medium became stable.

RICHARD BLAND

The result of this agitation was the Bland-Allison Act of 1878. This directed the secretary of the treasury to purchase silver bullion at market price, not less than two million nor more than four million dollars' worth per month, and coin the same into dollars of 412½ grains standard silver, or 371¼ grains fine silver.[1] The act made silver dollars legal tender in any amount and provided for the issue of silver certificates in denominations of not less than ten dollars, upon the deposit of silver dollars to the same amount. The new silver dollar coins did not prove popular. The people were not accustomed to using

[1] That is, a dollar was to contain 412½ grains of metal, of which 371¼ grains were to be pure silver, the remainder alloy.

heavy coins and preferred paper; consequently, in 1886 Congress authorized the issue of silver certificates in denominations of one, two and five dollars.

The Bland-Allison Act was not a permanent settlement of the contest for free coinage of silver. It was only a compromise in a struggle which culminated in the presidential election of 1896 (Section 657).

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD

626. Garfield Elected.—Early in 1880 a strong movement was organized for the nomination of Grant for a third term as president. He had just returned from a tour around the world, during which he had received the highest honors from all civilized nations. At home he was highly esteemed as man, soldier and statesman, but it had become the established custom to elect no one three times to the presidency, and there was at once revealed a widespread public sentiment against the nomination.

The Republican convention met in Chicago, June 25. The prominent candidates were General Grant, James G. Blaine of Maine and John Sherman of Ohio. Several factions were immediately disclosed, the largest of which favored Grant and was led by Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, a bitter enemy of Hayes, Blaine and Sherman. After many ballots had been taken, during which Grant's famous "306 delegates" remained faithful to the end, the friends of all the other candidates successfully united on James A. Garfield of Ohio. Chester A. Arthur of New York received the nomination for vice-president. The platform extolled the party's past achievements, denounced the Democratic party of the "Solid South," favored a protective tariff and opposed Chinese immigration.

WINFIELD S. HANCOCK

The Democratic convention met in Cincinnati, June 22. The nominees were, for president, Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania, and for vice-president, William H. English of Indiana. The platform denounced the Republi-

can party and the seating of President Hayes; declared for both gold and silver money, or paper money convertible into coin on demand, a revenue tariff and restriction of Chinese immigration.

The Greenback-Labor party held its convention in Chicago on June 9 and adopted a platform in favor of government control of all issues of money. This was aimed directly at the national banks, who were allowed to issue a limited amount of their notes as currency. The platform also opposed grants of land to railroads and the immigration of the Chinese. The nominees were James B. Weaver of Iowa for president, and B. J. Chambers of Texas for vice-president.

The campaign was spirited and at times became bitter with personalities, though the nominees of all the parties were men of the highest character. At the election Garfield and Arthur received 214 electoral votes, and Hancock and English, 155. Out of a total popular vote of 9,881,000, the Republican plurality was less than one thousand. The Greenback vote was about 307,000.

627. Party Dissensions.—No sooner had President Garfield entered upon his duties than bitter opposition to the administration developed within the party. During the early part of the campaign the Grant faction had remained inactive, but when the success of the Democratic party seemed probable all Republican factions united to support the ticket, and Conkling by his eloquence contributed largely to the party's success. Conkling and his friends

thought that for this aid he should have a voice in the presidential appointments, and especially that he should control the important appointments within New York. The President believed that it was his prerogative to appoint whomsoever he thought best to office under the government. When he gave to Blaine, who was Conkling's personal and political enemy, the post of secretary of state, an open rupture between the President and Conkling was but narrowly averted. It finally came when the New York senators were ignored in making appointments to important offices within their state. Both Conkling and T. C. Platt resigned, expecting the endorsement of an immediate reëlection by the New York legislature. However, they were disappointed, two Garfield men being chosen.

ROSCOE CONKLING

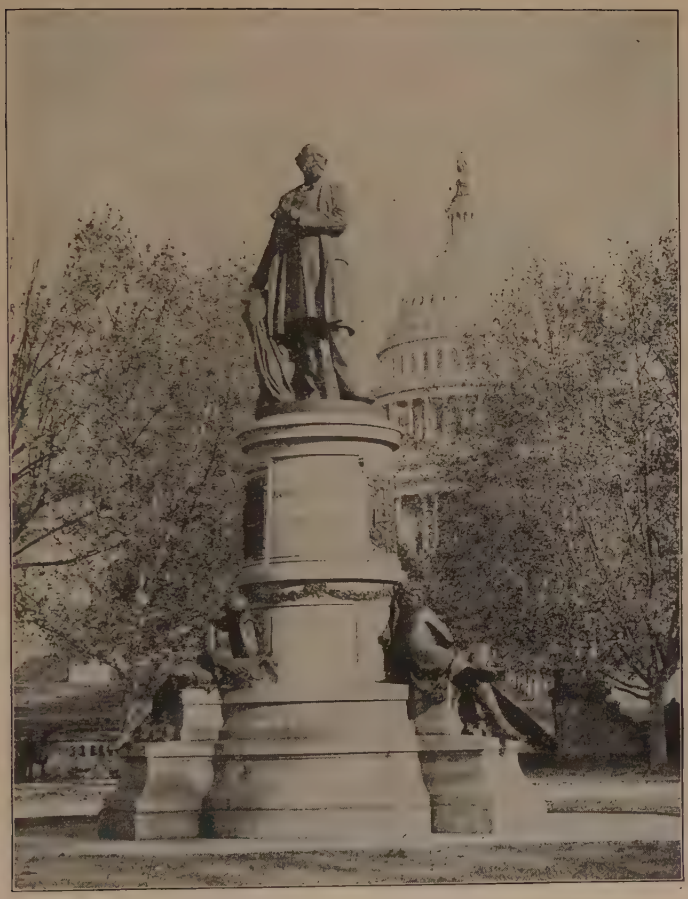
A bronze statue by J. Q. A. Ward, erected on the spot where in the blizzard of March 12, 1888, Conkling fell, bewildered and exhausted, and suffered exposure which caused his death.

This strife, which for a time seemed liable to obstruct

the workings of the government, was wholly due to the hold which the spoils system had obtained on the party, and the sympathy of the country at large and of conservative men in Congress, regardless of party, was with the President. The Senate sustained President Garfield and confirmed all his appointments, and the storm subsided. The contest developed three factions within the Republican ranks—the so-called "Stalwarts," who supported Conkling; the "Half-breeds," who supported the administration, and the "Jellyfishes," who occupied neutral ground.

628. Assassination of the President.—On July 2, 1881, as the President was about to start on an eastern trip, he was shot at the railway station in Washington by a disappointed and half-crazed office seeker. Garfield died September 19. Vice-president Arthur immediately took the oath of office and became president.

Garfield sprang from the humblest walks of life, but was endowed with a strong intellect and a kindly heart. These he cultivated with all his power, and from early youth he steadily advanced in popularity and influence among his associates. Within six years from the completion of his college course he was president of a college, state senator for Ohio, major general and representative-elect. Entering the House of Representatives in 1863, he remained until 1880, when he was elected to the Senate, but before the time for taking his seat arrived he had been chosen president of the United States. As a member of the House



GARFIELD MONUMENT, WASHINGTON

Erected in 1887 at the southwest entrance to the Capitol grounds, through the contributions of Garfield's comrades of the Army of the Cumberland. It was designed by J. Q. A. Ward.

Mr. Garfield was known for his grasp of public affairs, his strong, logical arguments and his kindly spirit.

"From the very outset he exhibited administrative talent of a high order. With perfect comprehension of all the inheritances of the war, with a cool calculation of the obstacles in his way, impelled always by a generous enthusiasm, Garfield conceived that much might be done towards restoring harmony between the different sections of the Union. He was an American in all his aspirations, and he looked to the destiny of the United States with the philosophic composure of Jefferson and the demonstrative confidence of John Adams. The religious element in Garfield's character was deep and earnest. Its crowning characteristic element was charity, liberality."[1]

629. Civil Service Reform.—One of the most important acts of Arthur's administration was the reform of the civil service. There was no direct connection between the assassination of President Garfield and the spoils system, yet there was a general feeling that the quarrel with Conkling and the evils of the existing method of appointment to office were in a measure responsible for the crime.

Both parties began in earnest to improve the civil service, a work which at several previous elections they had faithfully promised to do and each time had as constantly failed to attempt. The stress of the Civil War enabled more or less corruption in government service to pass unnoticed, and during Grant's two terms it reached such proportions as to become scandalous. Offices were multiplied, fraudulent contracts were common, government officials were assessed for political purposes, and, above all, political bosses, both state and national, practically

[1] Memorial oration by James G. Blaine before both Houses of Congress, February 27, 1882.

controlled appointment to office. Under these conditions honest and efficient service was almost impossible.

In 1871 public sentiment had already become strong enough to compel Congress to take action. In that year the president was authorized to prescribe rules for admission to the civil service and to appoint a commission for the purpose. In accordance with this law, the first civil service commission was appointed by Grant, George William Curtis being chairman. Under this commission, rules were adopted and the work of reforming the civil service was begun. The commission continued until 1875, when the influence of spoilsmen in Congress was strong enough to cause the annual appropriation to be withheld.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS
An early advocate of civil service reform and of independence in politics; prominent in the Republican revolt of 1872.

Soon after he assumed the duties of office, President Arthur expressed himself strongly in favor of reform in the civil service, and in January, 1883, Senator Pendle-

ton of Ohio introduced a bill establishing a commission to formulate rules and regulations to govern the civil service, also authorizing the president to determine what classes of officers should come under these rules. The bill also prohibited assessments of members of the civil service for partisan purposes. This bill passed both Houses of Congress with little opposition.[1]

CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR

The classified service does not extend to officials appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate, nor to fourth-class postmasters, which form the largest single class exempt from the regulations. Entrance to government service under the civil service regulations is by examination only, thus removing positions demanding

[1] The same year a bill for the purpose of regulating the state service passed the legislature of New York. This was followed by a bill in Massachusetts, and other states soon fell into line. Under President Cleveland the application of the rules in the national government was greatly extended. The reform was also strengthened during President Harrison's administration. The classification was slightly contracted under President McKinley, but was again extended under Roosevelt until, in 1906, it embraced fully one-half the government employes outside the army and navy.

expert knowledge or special clerical ability beyond the reach of petty politicians or their followers.

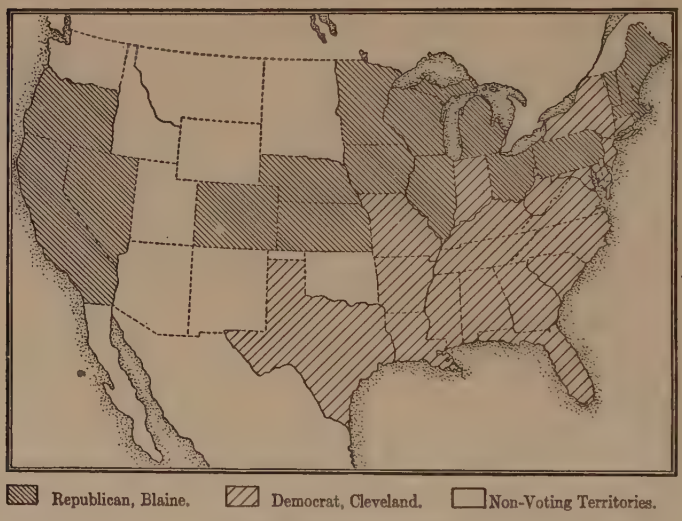
630. General Prosperity.—During Arthur's term the country was generally prosperous. Business had fully recovered from the panic of 1873; crops were good; railways were extended in all directions; mining was developed, and manufactures were multiplied. In no section was this advancement more perceptible than in the South. Northern capitalists had become interested in the former slave states; railways were improved and extended; mines were opened, and factories were built. Agriculture was also greatly improved. Two expositions, one at Atlanta (1881) and one at New Orleans (1884-1885), did much to make Northerners realize the resources and possibilities of the "New South."

631. Change of Parties.—During Arthur's administration there was general political unrest, due to the rise of large corporations, to the greenback and coinage questions and, especially, to the tariff [1] controversy, which became an important issue in the presidential campaign of 1884.

The Republican convention met in Chicago June 3. The leading candidates were President Arthur, James G. Blaine, John Sherman and George F. Edmunds. After a brief contest, Blaine was nominated for president and

[1] The increase of revenue had caused a large surplus to accumulate in the treasury, and Congress appointed a commission to make investigations upon which to base a revision of the tariff. The new tariff was adopted in 1883, but it provided for only a slight reduction of duties.

John A. Logan for vice-president. The platform pledged the party to a reduction of the surplus; to a protective tariff; to a regulation of interstate commerce; to the settlement of labor difficulties through the organization of a national labor bureau, and to civil service reform.



THE ELECTION OF 1884

The Democratic convention met in Saint Louis on July 8. The nominees were Grover Cleveland of New York and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana. The platform promised a reduction of duties, but was silent as to the principle of protection. It promised control of corporations in the interests of labor, and exclusion of the Chinese. It favored civil service reform and arraigned the Republican party for destroying the merchant marine.

The National or People's party, formerly the Greenback party, nominated Benjamin F. Butler for president and A. M. West for vice-president. The only important plank in its platform was that demanding a large *per capita* circulation of money and the substitution of greenbacks for national bank notes. The Prohibition party nominated John P. St. John of Kansas and William Daniel of Maryland, on a platform demanding the entire suppression of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks.

The campaign was vigorously contested by the two great parties; bitter attacks were made upon the characters of both the leading candidates, and there was a general disregard of party lines by leading men of both parties. At the election Cleveland and Hendricks received 219 electoral votes, and Blaine and Logan, 182. The popular vote was over 9,700,000, and Cleveland's plurality was about sixty-three thousand. The vote of the other parties was insignificant. The House was Democratic and the Senate was Republican.

632. Death of General Grant.—In 1885 the country was called to mourn the loss of its foremost soldier and citizen. After a lingering illness, General Grant died at Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, on July 23. On the 28th his remains were laid at rest with the most elaborate funeral obsequies that the country had witnessed.

General Grant was recognized as one of the world's greatest soldiers; his sterling qualities and his quiet and simple

life had endeared him to all. America's greatest preacher paid him this tribute:

"A man he was, without vices, with an absolute hatred of lies and an ineradicable love of truth, of a perfect loyalty to friendship, neither envious of others nor selfish of himself. With a zeal for the public good unfeigned, he has left to memory only such weaknesses as connect him with humanity, and such virtues as will rank him among heroes."[1]

633. The President's Policy.—Cleveland was the first Democratic president in twenty-five years, and many looked forward to the change of parties with apprehension. However, the change was effected with as little disturbance as there was in the change from one Republican administration to another. The President adhered strictly to the regulations governing the civil service and extended their application as far as possible. But under the Constitution he was not relieved from making a large number of appointments. Changes were

GRANT'S TOMB, NEW YORK

Erected through popular subscriptions aggregating $600,000, and dedicated April 27, 1897, the seventy-fifth anniversary of Grant's birth. Situated on Riverside Drive, New York.

[1] Henry Ward Beecher.

made gradually, and during the first half of his term there were few removals for political purposes;[1] in fact, the President's attitude in this matter cost him the support of the leading politicians of his party. This hostility was somewhat intensified by his many vetoes, especially of private pension bills, which he believed were the cause of vast fraud against the government and of unnecessary expense.

GROVER CLEVELAND

The administration was characterized by singleness of purpose, economy of management and the exercise of good judgment in public affairs. Although the two Houses of Congress were of opposite political majorities, several important laws were passed.

634. Presidential Succession. — Vice-president Hendricks's death, soon after his inauguration, called attention

[1] Later, the President removed many political opponents, giving as his reason their "offensive partisanship." The phrase, though probably justly applied at the time, has since been used with less sincerity to justify removal upon solely political grounds.

to the fact that the laws did not provide for a succession to the presidency in case both the president and vice-president should be removed by death or disability before Congress had assembled. In accordance with the provision of the Constitution,[1] Congress in 1791 provided that in case both president and vice-president were removed, the president *pro tempore* of the Senate, or in case there was no president *pro tempore*, the speaker of the House of Representatives should act as president until the disability was removed or a new president elected. But the law did not provide for the contingency arising when a vacancy occurred when there was neither president *pro tempore* nor speaker. In 1886 a law was passed providing that members of the cabinet, in the order of the establishment of their respective departments, should succeed to the presidency, provided they were eligible. This removed any possibility of a vacancy and also removed the question of a possible change from one party to another in the change of presidents.[2]

635. The Navy. — The President and Congress were agreed on the desirability of placing the navy on a footing commensurate with the navies of other nations. This work was begun in the previous administration by the appointment of a naval advisory board of experienced officers.

[1] Art. II, sec. 1, clause 5.

[2] The order of succession is, secretary of state, secretary of the treasury, secretary of war, attorney-general, postmaster-general, secretary of the navy and secretary of the interior. The secretary of agriculture was added when he was made a member of the cabinet, in 1889, and also the secretary of commerce and labor, in 1903. In case a cabinet officer becomes president, he holds office for the remainder of the unexpired term.

The report of this board recommended a plan of naval construction which it would require eight years to complete and would cost thirty million dollars. The plan was adopted and put into immediate execution. This was the beginning of a permanent policy in the pursuance of which the United States attained its present navy, ranking third in tonnage among the great navies of the world in 1906.

636. Interstate Commerce Act.—The consolidation of railway lines into great systems gave rise to general dissatisfaction, since, by the manipulation of rates, those who owned the railways virtually controlled the commerce of the country and by granting special privileges to certain corporations could ruin their competitors. This condition of affairs led to the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887. This law provided for a board of five members, known as the *Interstate Commerce Commission*, appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate, with large powers over railways having interstate commerce. The commission also was given the right to proceed in the United States courts against any railway that disobeyed its orders. The commission has rendered valuable service in preventing discrimination in rates and abolishing other abuses, but the results anticipated have not been fully attained.

637. Labor Troubles.—As large corporations increased in number and size, competition between them became correspondingly more keen. This led to the attempt to

lessen the cost of production, and this, in turn, to the lowering of wages and the placing of other restrictions upon labor. Workmen became convinced that the only way to prevent oppression by organized capital was to meet it with organized labor. The Knights of Labor, which originated in Philadelphia in 1869, planned to make that body an organization which should include all other labor unions, forming a combination powerful enough to paralyze the entire industries of the country, if necessary, in the interests of labor. This organization grew rapidly, and by 1885 numbered over a million members; but it soon began to decline, and in the course of a few years it was supplanted by the American Federation of Labor.

POLICE MONUMENT, CHICAGO
Erected in honor of the seven policemen who fell in the anarchist riots of 1887. Now in Union Park.

The general social and industrial unrest led to the acceptance of fantastic political theories, of which the most conspicuous was "anarchy," which became popular among the ignorant classes because of its denunciation of all government. In Chicago the throwing of a dynamite

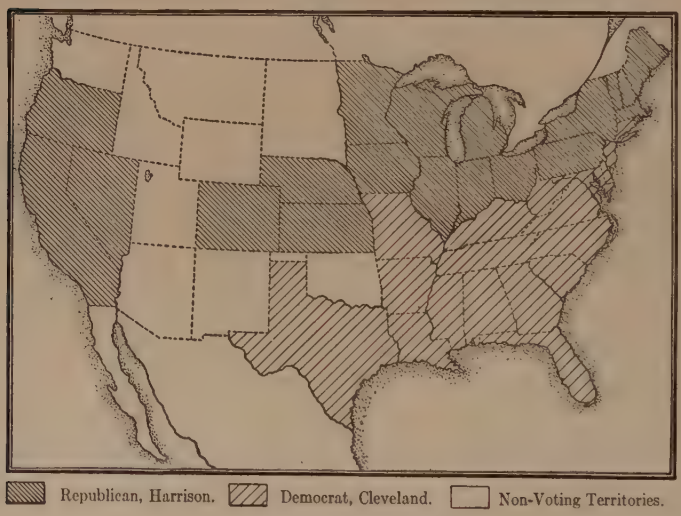
bomb at an outdoor meeting of anarchists, resulted in the death of several policemen. The leaders of the gathering were held responsible for the murder. Three were executed, two were sentenced to imprisonment for life and one escaped execution by suicide.

638. New States.—In 1888 four new states were admitted to the Union, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington. The Dakotas had been governed as one territory, but this was so large that Congress deemed it unwise to admit it as a single state. In 1889 a portion of Indian Territory which had been purchased from the Indians by the government was thrown open to settlement and organized into the Territory of Oklahoma.[1] On the day of the opening, April 22, more than fifty thousand emigrants entered the territory. Idaho and Wyoming were admitted to the Union in the following year.

639. Republicans Again in Power.—The Democratic convention of 1888 met in Saint Louis June 5. Mr. Cleveland was nominated for president by acclamation, and Allen G. Thurman of Ohio received the nomination for vice-president. The platform endorsed the administration and emphatically approved the President's message in favor of tariff reform. The Republican convention met in Chicago July 19, and on the third day nominated for president Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, and for vice-president, Levi P. Morton of New York. The platform

[1] The name comes from the Oklahoma Indians, and signifies *the beautiful land.*

charged the Democratic party with the suppression of the ballot in the South; inefficiency in the management of foreign affairs; abuse of the veto power, and a desire to destroy the industries and general business of the country by its tariff legislation. The party declared strongly for protective tariff, expressing the belief that it would be better to repeal the internal revenue taxes than to surrender the protective system.



THE ELECTION OF 1888

The campaign was in marked contrast to its predecessor, in that it abstained from personalities and confined its discussion largely to tariff issues. However, it was characterized by an unprecedented use of money. It is estimated that the national committees of the two leading

parties expended at least six million dollars during the campaign. The returns from the election gave Harrison and Morton 233 votes and Cleveland and Thurman 168, though Cleveland's popular majority was 140,000.

Previous to this election several of the states had adopted the Australian ballot, and it was used in this year for the first time in a choice of presidential electors. The results were so satisfactory that other states immediately adopted the system, and before the next national election its use was nearly universal.

BENJAMIN HARRISON

640. Centennial Celebration.—Mr. Cleveland's term completed the first century of the government under the Constitution, and on April 30 following, the one hundreth anniversary of Washington's inauguration was celebrated throughout the country. In New York the festivities began on the 29th and continued three days. President Harrison attended and participated in the exercises, which consisted of religious services, addresses and naval, military and industrial parades.

641. Silver Legislation.—The Bland-Allison Act (Section 625) had not proved satisfactory to those in favor of increasing the value of silver. This faction advocated the removing of all restriction on the coinage of silver. On the other hand, their opponents believed that the continued accumulation of silver dollars in the treasury, while the value of silver was constantly decreasing, was a menace to sound currency. As a result of the controversy, the Bland-Allison Act was replaced by the Sherman law (1890). This required the secretary of the treasury to purchase four and a half million ounces of silver every month and to issue in payment therefor legal tender treasury notes redeemable in either gold or silver coin. The coinage of silver dollars was restricted to amounts necessary to redeem notes.

642. The McKinley Tariff.—In accordance with their election pledges, the Republicans framed a new tariff bill which took its name from Mr. McKinley of Ohio, who was at that time chairman of the committee on ways and means. This bill was passed in 1890. Its purpose was to reduce the revenue and at the same time to protect American industries. A reciprocity clause attached to the bill authorized the president "to levy duties by proclamation on sugar, tea, coffee and hides whenever any country exporting these commodities to the United States placed duties on the agricultural products of the United States, which, considering the free admission of the abovenamed commodities into the United States, he might con-

sider reciprocally unjust." The reciprocity clause was designed to apply particularly to the Central and South American countries.

643. Dependent Pension Bill.—The attitude of Harrison's administration towards the pension question was directly opposite to that of Cleveland's. The Republicans advocated the extension of the policy and passed the Dependent Pension Act, vetoed by Cleveland in 1887. This was the most sweeping law of its kind ever enacted. It granted pensions to all Union soldiers who had served in the war ninety days, provided they were incapacitated for manual labor, and to their widows, children and dependent heirs. It increased the number of pensions from 537,944 in 1890 to 976,000 in 1897, and the annual expenditure from $72,052,000 to $141,264,000. While the law doubtless extended aid to many who were worthy, it led to the pensioning of thousands of fraudulent applicants, and in general effect it was demoralizing.

644. Foreign Affairs.—As secretary of state, Mr. Blaine was called upon to deal with several complications with foreign nations. He managed all with consummate skill.

1. The New Orleans Riot.—In the spring of 1891 several Italians in New Orleans who were accused of shooting some of their countrymen were convicted of perjury. While attempting to trace the record of some of their accusers the police discovered the existence among these people of a branch of Mafia, a secret society whose mem-

bers are bound by oath to obey the commands of the order, and whose purpose is the shielding of crimes committed by its members. While pursuing his search, the chief of police was shot and killed by members of this order. Nine of the leaders in the affair were brought to trial, but, in the face of the most positive evidence of their guilt, they were acquitted. The enraged populace thereupon surrounded the prison, forced an entrance and shot all the accused men.

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE

Three of the men slain were subjects of Italy, and the Italian government demanded that the United States pay an indemnity to their families and that the offenders be brought to justice. Though the national government was not responsible for the affair, Secretary Blaine replied that it would not refuse the payment of an indemnity; but he explained that under our system of government the offenders could be brought to justice only by

the State of Louisiana. The Italian minister at Washington, not understanding American government, thought that the United States was resorting to subterfuge to escape its duties, and he therefore withdrew from Washington. The Italian government was finally persuaded to accept twenty-five thousand dollars for distribution among the families of the murdered men.

2. Chile.—When Blaine became secretary of state, Chile was engaged in a civil war between a party supporting President Balmaceda and one favoring the congress. The United States minister to Chile openly espoused the cause of Balmaceda and thus alienated the congressional party, which included a majority of the people. The ill-feeling was intensified by the controversy over the *Itata*, a Chilean cruiser, which, at the request of the Chilean minister, was ordered detained at Santiago by a United States official, on the ground that she was engaged in the service of the revolutionists. The *Itata* left port, however, pursued closely by the United States cruiser *Charleston*, and on June 4 she surrendered to the United States squadron at Iquique. In October, two sailors from the United States cruiser *Baltimore* were killed in Valparaiso. The United States sternly demanded an explanation from the Chilean government, which after some hesitation made satisfactory amends.

3. International Copyright.—In March, 1891, Congress passed an international copyright law, granting to foreign authors practically the same rights as those granted

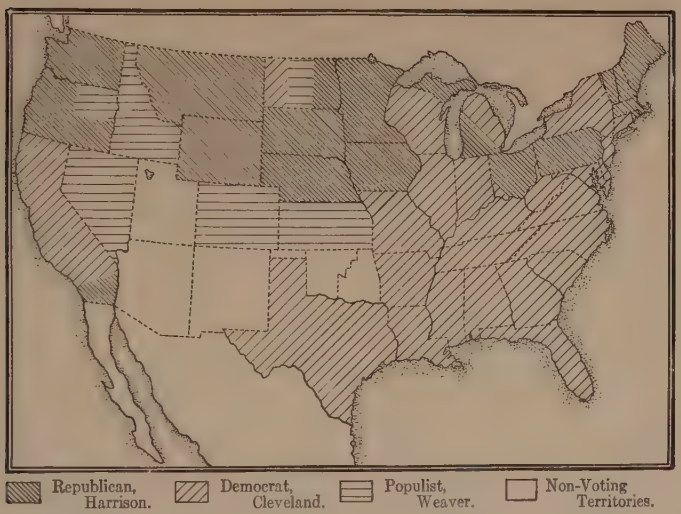
to Americans, providing their works were printed from type set within the limits of the United States or from plates made from type set there. This law was a source of great satisfaction to foreign authors who had previously felt that the United States was treating them unfairly.

645. The Pan-American Congress.—In October, 1889, delegates from all the countries of South and Central America and Mexico met in Washington. The congress elected Mr. Blaine president, although he was not a delegate, and remained in session until the following April. Numerous questions pertaining to commerce, finance, reciprocity and arbitration of disputes were discussed. The congress made a number of recommendations, only a few of which were acted upon by the governments represented. The most tangible result of the gathering was the organization of the Bureau of American Republics for the purpose of spreading information concerning the Latin-American countries. This became a permanent organization and its reports and other publications are of great value.

646. A Second Democratic Victory.—The Republican national convention of 1892 met at Minneapolis on June 7. President Harrison was renominated without opposition, and Whitelaw Reid of New York was nominated for vice-president. The platform favored protection, reciprocity and the use of both gold and silver as the standard money, under such conditions as would secure an equality in purchasing value between corre-

sponding coins of the two metals. It emphasized the Monroe Doctrine and called for restriction of immigration.

The Democratic national convention met in Chicago June 20 and nominated Mr. Cleveland for president and Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois for vice-president. The



THE ELECTION OF 1892

party reaffirmed its allegiance to the principles of Jefferson, denounced the centralization of power in the national government and asserted its adherence to the principle of "tariff for revenue only." It also advocated the coinage of both gold and silver on such a basis that the unit of each should be interchangeable with the other, or on the basis of a safe international agreement. It approved

civil service reform and the restriction of immigration.

The People's party, which was an outgrowth of the Greenback party and the Grangers' and Farmers' Alliance, met in Omaha July 2, and nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa for president and James G. Field of Virginia for vice-president. The platform showed strong socialistic tendencies. It demanded the government ownership of railroads, telegraphs and telephones; the free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of sixteen to one,[1] and a money circulation of at least fifty dollars *per capita* of the population. It also called for a graduated income tax, the establishment of postal savings banks and the reclamation of all lands held by aliens and by corporations in excess of their needs.

The main issue of the campaign was the tariff, but the outcome was influenced by other considerations. Important among these were the attempts of the Republicans to again place elections in the South under Federal control, on account of the continued disfranchisement of the negroes;[2] a great strike in the Carnegie Steel Works at Homestead, Pa., in which United States troops were employed to preserve order; finally, the perennial money controversy. In a number of western states the Democrats combined with the Populists, as did the Republi-

[1] That is, the weight of silver used in a silver dollar was to be sixteen times the weight of gold in a gold dollar, that ratio conforming approximately to the relative values of the two metals.

[2] This measure, which recalled the bills passed in reconstruction times, was called "the Force Bill." Though it failed of passage, it gave the Democrats political capital which they used to good effect in all parts of the country.

cans in Louisiana and Alabama, and Weaver carried Kansas, Colorado, Nevada, Wyoming and Idaho. But the election was a sweeping victory for the Democrats—Cleveland and Stevenson had 277 votes, Harrison and Reid, 145 and Weaver, 22. Cleveland's plurality was three hundred eighty-one thousand, and Weaver had a popular vote of over a million. Both branches of Congress were Democratic.

647. The Columbian Exposition.—In 1890 Congress voted to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, by an international exposition of arts and sciences. The so-called World's Columbian Exposition was located at Jackson Park, on the shore of Lake Michigan, at the south end of the city of Chicago. Though the buildings and grounds were incomplete at the time, dedicatory services were held October 21, 1892, which was the four hundredth anniversary of the first sight of land in the New World by Columbus. The Exposition was opened May 1, 1893, and continued till November. Twenty million dollars were expended on the buildings and grounds before the Exposition was opened. In extent, completeness and magnificence, the "White City," as it was appropriately called, exceeded anything of the sort that had ever been erected.

Within an area of six hundred sixty acres, one hundred fifty buildings were erected. Twelve of these were immense palaces for housing the exhibits; the others were buildings erected by the several states and foreign nations.

and such other structures as the administration of the exposition made necessary. The work was under the supervision of a board of construction, thus assuring harmony of design and execution. By the use in construction of a peculiar, non-durable substance known as "staff," the exterior of the buildings was made to resemble marble.

The central attraction of the whole exhibition was the Court of Honor. This occupied a great open space terminated at the west in the beautiful Administration Building and at the east in the peristyle, between whose graceful columns could be seen flashes of the blue waters of Lake Michigan. Through the center flowed the lagoon, flanked on the south by the Agricultural Building, and on the north by the mammoth Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building. The whole view, illuminated at night by myriads of tiny lights and by the thousand changing colors shining through the electric fountains, presented a picture never to be forgotten by any beholder.

WORLD'S FAIR, CHICAGO
View of the Court of Honor from the Administration Building, showing the McMonnies electric fountain in the foreground, Agricultural Building at the right, and the Peristyle and Statue of the Republic in the background.

The exhibition numbered sixty-five thousand exhibi-

tors and represented every country of the world. Over two hundred fifty thousand separate exhibits were displayed. The total attendance was more than twenty-eight million, and the receipts exceeded the expenditures by nearly two million dollars.

The purpose and spirit of this exhibition of the world's civilization were fittingly expressed by President Cleveland in his address on the opening day. He said:

"... As by a touch the machinery that gives life to this vast exposition is now set in motion, so, at the same instant, let our hopes and aspirations awaken forces which in all times to come shall influence the welfare, the dignity and the freedom of mankind."

During the season a series of world's congresses was held at Chicago. There were one hundred sixty of these gatherings, representing nearly all lines of commercial, social, educational, moral and religious interests. They brought together the leaders of the world's thought and did much to unify and strengthen the efforts of the different peoples toward social and moral reforms.

648. Financial Depression.—At Mr. Cleveland's second inauguration the country seemed, to the superficial observer, to be prosperous. However, there were signs of industrial weakness which were fully realized by those responsible for the administration of the government. Early in June the President called Congress to meet in extra session on August 7 for the purpose of devising means to prevent a financial panic, and even then it was too late.

The causes leading to the financial crisis were:

(1) *Decline in the Gold Reserve.* — Under the McKinley tariff the revenues had fallen off more than had been anticipated, and commercial conditions had led to the exportation of gold in large amounts. To meet this demand the treasury was called upon to redeem United States notes and the treasury notes of 1890; the gold reserve was therefore greatly reduced, and business interests became uneasy as to the financial condition of the government.

Previous to the passage of the Sherman law (Section 641), more than nine-tenths of the customs receipts in New York were paid in gold or gold certificates, and it had been the practice of the sub-treasurer to settle his clearing house balances in the same form of money. In this way the banks of the city were daily supplied with gold. In 1891 the gold and gold certificates in the customs receipts fell as low as twelve per cent, and in December, 1892, they were less than four per cent. In settling his balances the sub-treasurer was therefore obliged to use treasury notes, and the banks, thus deprived of their customary source of obtaining gold, were compelled to secure it from the treasury by presenting government notes for redemption.

(2) *Decline in the Value of Silver.*—In June, 1893, the government of British India suspended the free coinage of silver, and the price of that metal rapidly declined in the markets of the world. Creditors and holders of silver certificates at once became alarmed and made all haste

to convert their securities into gold. Depositors became frightened and extensive demands for deposits caused the failure of many banks. Capitalists were so alarmed that business was practically brought to a standstill, and thousands of people were thrown out of employment.

Many of these soon began to rove over the country, begging their way from town to town. During the winter of 1893 and 1894 there was terrible suffering among the families of workingmen, and in many large cities systematic relief was provided by the authorities. This condition of affairs continued through 1894, but began to improve early in the following year.

649. Repeal of the Sherman Law.—As a measure of relief, President Cleveland demanded the suspension of the purchase of silver; for under the law this bullion must be paid for with certificates which could be immediately presented for redemption in gold. The advocates of free silver in both parties united to oppose such legislation and succeeded in preventing action for several months. Finally, the purchase clause of the Sherman law was repealed, October 30, 1893, and its influence became gradually apparent in the decline of the panic.

650. Sale of Bonds.—The rapid depletion of the treasury's gold reserve made it necessary for the secretary to resort to some means for increasing the supply. He applied to Congress for a law authorizing an issue of bonds at a low rate of interest, but the free silver faction prevented the passage of such a measure. The secretary then re-

sorted to a law of 1875, still in force, and in January, 1894, issued fifty million dollars' worth of ten-year bonds bearing five per cent interest. In the following November another issue for a like amount occurred, and others in February, 1895, and January, 1896. Most of the gold thus secured was soon paid out in the redemption of treasury notes and stored away by the holders, who feared that the government would cease gold payments. Thus the national debt was increased over two hundred sixty million dollars without affording the general government material relief, since, under the law, United States notes when once redeemed had to be reissued, and thus constituted an endless chain for draining the treasury of gold.

WILLIAM L. WILSON

651. The Wilson Tariff Bill.—The McKinley tariff was held responsible for the rise of prices between 1890 and 1892, and there was a strong revulsion of feeling concerning it. In accordance with their pledges the Democrats presented a new tariff bill, prepared under the direction

of Mr. William L. Wilson of Virginia, chairman of the committee of ways and means. This bill, known as the Wilson Bill, was a movement toward freer trade, but it was greatly modified in the Senate under the leadership of Senator Gorman and caused a prolonged contest between the Senate and the House. The President was in sympathy with the original bill, and the measure as finally passed was so different from the bill drafted by the Wilson committee that President Cleveland allowed it to become a law without his signature (1894).

The bill contained an income tax clause providing for levying two per cent on all incomes exceeding four thousand dollars. This clause was later contested in the Supreme Court and declared by that body unconstitutional.

652. Railroad Strike.—The depression of business led to numerous labor troubles. Armies of the unemployed were organized in the western states to march to Washington, there to make known the condition of labor and to demand relief of the authorities. One of these bands, under one Coxey, finally reached the capital, but its ranks were so thinned that fewer than five hundred went into camp. When they appeared upon the capitol grounds the leaders were arrested, and soon after the "army" disbanded.

A movement of a much more formidable character was the great railroad strike which began at Pullman, Ill. The city of Pullman was built and owned by the Pullman Palace Car Company. From its inception it was to all out-

ward appearances a model city; the houses were rented to the employes at reasonable rates, and all needful public utilities were provided. However, the paternalism exercised by the company was contrary to the American idea of liberty, and dissatisfaction arose among the residents. When in 1894 some workmen were discharged and the wages of all were cut from twenty to twenty-five per cent while rents were not reduced, a reversal of the order and certain other reforms were demanded by the workmen. No satisfactory reply was made, and a general strike of the Pullman employes was called. The company remained deaf to the appeals, both of its employes and of the public, to arbitrate the dispute.

COXEY'S ARMY
Marching through a western village.

Most of the Pullman employes had joined the American Railway Union, an organization which already had over one hundred thousand members and which sought to include all the workmen in any way connected with railroads in the United States. On June 26, Eugene V. Debs,

president of the American Railway Union, issued an order to all members of that organization requiring them to refrain from handling Pullman cars. The order was accompanied by an urgent request that the members of the union abstain from all forms of lawlessness. The strike on all railroad lines entering Chicago then became general. The city contained thousands of a semi-criminal class left there from the World's Fair; the strike offered this element a welcome opportunity for plunder, and, joined by the most irresponsible members of the union, they destroyed much railway property and large quantities of freight.

EUGENE V. DEBS

The police being apparently unable to prevent rioting and obstruction of the mails, President Cleveland ordered the United States troops to Chicago. The presence of these troops had an excellent moral effect, order being soon restored. The use of the troops occasioned a spirited passage-at-arms between Governor Altgeld of Illinois and

the President as to the need and constitutional right of the latter to send troops to the state without the governor's request. President Cleveland's contention that he was acting not only legally but wisely was later upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

The strike spread through nearly all the western states and for a month practically paralyzed traffic. When Debs and several other leaders of the union were condemned to imprisonment for violating an injunction of the United States Court, the strike collapsed. Soon after, the American Railway Union dissolved.

MORMON TABERNACLE, SALT LAKE CITY

One of the three imposing buildings constituting the seat of the Mormon church. It is noted for its magnificent organ, remarkable acoustic properties and for a tremendous arch supporting the roof, one of the largest self-supporting arches in the world.

653. Utah.—Utah adopted a constitution and became a state in January, 1896. For a number of years the territory had been in conflict with the United States authori-

ties on account of the polygamous marriages sanctioned by the Mormon Church (Section 465).[1]

654. Hawaii.—American citizens had become interested in sugar plantations in the Hawaiian Islands and had invested heavily there. Owing to general dissatisfaction with the government, a revolution occurred in January, 1893. The queen, Liliuokalani, was deposed, and a provisional government consisting largely of Americans was organized. This was immediately recognized as a *de facto* government by the United States minister, and soon after, with the minister's approval, the islands were placed under the protectorate of the United States. President Harrison disavowed the protectorate, but negotiations for the annexation of the islands to the United States were opened and a treaty was speedily concluded.

At Mr. Cleveland's inauguration this treaty was pending ratification. Cleveland immediately set it aside and sent a special commissioner to Hawaii to investigate conditions. It was claimed by the deposed queen that the revo-

[1] Utah was settled in 1845 by the Mormons, who, under the leadership of Brigham Young, crossed the Great American Desert and, in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties, established a home, transformed a desert region into fertile fields and built Salt Lake City. Young and his followers were so far from the haunts of civilization that they could defy the government with impunity; and for years they succeeded in keeping other settlers out of the territory. It was only with the completon of the Union Pacific railroad and the discovery of gold and silver in Utah that the isolation of the Mormons was destroyed. In 1871 Young and several other leaders were arrested on the charge of bigamy, which had been prohibited by Federal law in 1862. Several were convicted. In 1882 a more stringent anti-polygamy law was passed. The law made polygamy punishable by fine, imprisonment and disfranchisement. Within two years the enforcement of this law disfranchised over twelve thousand Mormons, and in October, 1890, the church sustained a "revelation" by which polygamy was no longer a tenet of its faith. Congress then expressed a willingness to admit the territory as a state.

lution was instigated and aided by the United States authorities, especially by a force of United States marines who had been landed at the beginning of the disturbance, upon request of the American citizens in Honolulu. As a result of the investigation all negotiations looking towards annexation to the United States were terminated. The islands became an independent republic with Sanford B.

ROYAL PALACE, HONOLULU

Dole as president and continued under this organization until 1898, when they were annexed to the United States. They were organized into the Territory of Hawaii in 1900.

655. The Venezuelan Dispute.—For a long time Great Britain and Venezuela had been in dispute over the boundary between the latter country and British Guiana. When Richard Olney became secretary of state, in 1895, he demanded under the Monroe Doctrine that Great Brit-

ain submit the case to arbitration. In December, President Cleveland sent to Congress a message which startled the country by its boldness. The message recommended the immediate appointment of a commission to determine and report upon the true boundary. In regard to the acceptance of this report, the President said:

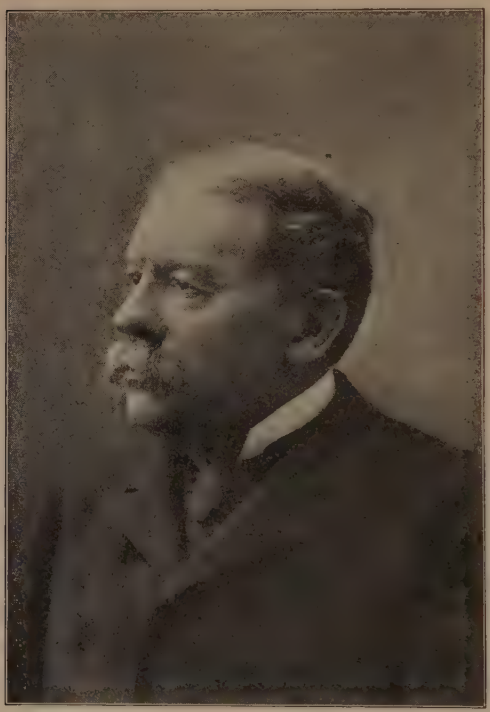
"When such report is made and accepted it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela."

Both branches of Congress, regardless of party, rallied to the support of the President. The stand taken by the administration led Great Britain to retreat from its previous decision and to accept the conclusions of an impartial tribunal.[1] The extension of the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine emphasized in this episode alarmed the ultraconservative interests of the country and called forth some stinging criticism of the administration; but it is now generally admitted that the President's attitude was fully warranted by the situation and that his conduct throughout was admirable.

656. Arbitration Treaty.—Near the close of his term President Cleveland sent to the Senate a general treaty of arbitration with Great Britain. This was a partial carrying out of the unanimous request of Congress in 1890 that negotiations be opened for such treaties with all nations.

[1] This tribunal made its report in 1899, the result being favorable to Great Britain.

The provisions of the treaty were in most respects excellent. Nevertheless, it was confronted by such political prejudice and animosity that it was rejected by the Senate shortly before the expiration of Mr. Cleveland's term of office.



RICHARD OLNEY
[From a photograph from life.]

657. The Battle of the Standards.—The presidential campaign of 1896 was one of the most memorable in our history. The business depression following the panic of 1893 had caused widespread dissatisfaction. While various causes were considered as instrumental in bringing about the industrial condition, there were many, particularly in the west and south, who believed it to be due to the restriction on the coinage of silver and the consequent scarcity of money. Long before either national conven-

tion was called, it became evident that the money question would be the principal issue of the campaign. The Republican national convention met in Saint Louis June 16. The platform declared in favor of protection and reciprocity and against the free coinage of silver except by international agreement. William McKinley of Ohio was nominated for president, and Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey for vice-president. The Democratic convention met in Chicago July 17. The great majority of the delegates were in favor of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, and this measure was embodied in the platform. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, in an impassioned speech in support of the silver plank, so captivated the convention that he received the nomination for president. Arthur Sewall of Maine was named for vice-president. The People's party, or Populists, met in national convention at Saint Louis on July 22. They

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

accepted the Democratic nomination for president but, fearing that the party would be absorbed by the Democrats, placed in nomination Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for vice-president. The Chicago platform was substantially adopted. The Prohibitionists and Socialist Labor party also made nominations.

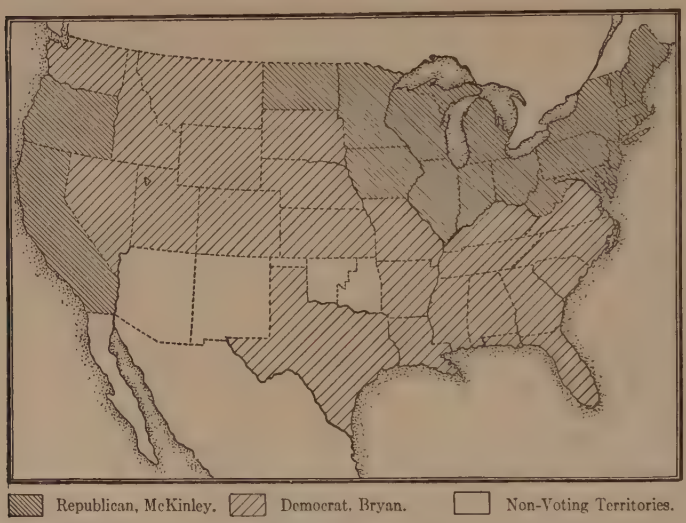
The question of free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one transcended all others, and on this parties became hopelessly mixed. The Republican advocates of "free silver" bolted the ticket, and some of the "gold Democrats" met in convention at Indianapolis, September 3, and organized the National Democratic party. They nominated J. M. Palmer of Illinois and S. B. Buckner of Kentucky on a platform declaring for a single gold standard of monetary measure. Many other Democrats temporarily or permanently cast their lot with the Republicans. Not since the election of Lincoln had there been a presidential canvass in which the people as a whole were so generally interested. The silver sentiment was strongest in the West and South, and the gold sentiment, in the East. Each party sent its best campaigners from state to state and flooded the country with literature. The Democratic candidate addressed vast audiences in all parts of the country, bringing them to the greatest enthusiasm by his eloquence and magnetism.

As the campaign progressed there was a steady turning of opinion in favor of the gold standard, and before the end of September a Republican victory was practi-

INAUGURATION OF McKINLEY, 1897

The official stand is at the left of the American flag. Ex-President Cleveland is standing at the extreme right of the central group, President McKinley at his left, and Chief Justice Fuller at the extreme left.

cally certain. McKinley and Hobart received 271 electoral votes and Bryan and Sewall 176. The Republican popular vote was, in round numbers, 7,105,000, and the combined Democratic and Populist vote was 6,503,000.



ELECTION OF 1896

The House was strongly Republican, but the Senate contained enough Democrats and silver-Republicans to prevent the passage of any bill regulating the currency or making gold the standard of monetary measure.

QUESTIONS

What was President Hayes's attitude towards the South? What effect did this have upon the political situation?

Compare the railroad strike of 1877 with that of 1894 in cause, extent and result. What other labor troubles of importance occurred between these dates?

Why was resumption the most important act of Hayes's administration? What classes did the act involve in financial difficulty? Why? Have there been later periods of depression from similar causes?

What was the method of filling government positions previous to the reform of the civil service system? What were the evil effects of this method? How far has civil service reform up to this time abolished all the abuses connected with appointment to office? Why? Suggest desirable changes in the present method.

What were the causes leading to Cleveland's election in 1884? Why was the change of the administration from one party to the other so easily made?

Of what benefit to the country was the Interstate Commerce Act? Upon what clause in the Constitution is it based?

Why did President Cleveland have so many conflicts with Congress during his first term? What were the most important events of this term?

Why did the campaign of 1896 arouse such interest among the people? Trace the causes that led to Republican success.

REFERENCES

Few general accounts covering the whole period beginning in 1876 have been written, the only thoroughly reliable work of its kind being Andrews's *History of the Last Quarter Century*, which has been recently expanded and published as *The History of the United States in Our Own Times*. Very condensed but serviceable accounts will be found in McLaughlin's *A History of the American Nation*, pp. 499 to the end; Channing's *Student's History of the United States*, pp. 571-606, and Adams and Trent's *History of the United States*, pp. 473-542. Wilson's *Division and Reunion* gives a good history of the years preceding 1889, and Johnston's *American Politics* contains a concise account of political issues and party platforms.

Excellent works have recently been written upon separate phases and movements of this period. Among the best are: Jenks's *The Trust Problem*; the several volumes of the Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics and Sociology, especially T. S. Adams's *Labor Problems*, Macy's *Political Parties in the United States* and Meyer's *Railway Legislation in the United States*. Consult, also, Dewey's *Financial History of the United States* and Taussig's *Tariff History of the United States*.

If possible, use the contemporary accounts and discussions in the leading magazines and newspapers of the time, of which the following will be found especially helpful: *Forum*, *Harper's Weekly*, *Outlook*, *Review of Reviews* and *Arena* (the last devoted chiefly to the exposition of the more radical theories of reform). The writings and addresses of the leading men of the period also offer valuable fields of study.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Railroad strike	1877
Resumption of specie payments	Jan. 1, 1879
Death of President Garfield	Sept. 19, 1881
Atlanta exposition; Yorktown celebration	1881
Civil Service Act passed	1883
Presidential Succession Act passed	1886
Interstate Commerce Act passed; anarchist riots in Chicago	1887
Dependent Pension Bill passed; McKinley Tariff Bill passed; Sherman Silver Act passed	1890
Revolution in Hawaii	1893
World's Fair in Chicago opened	May 1, 1893
Railroad strike; Wilson Tariff Bill passed	1894
Venezuelan message	1895
McKinley, president	1896

CHAPTER XII

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

1896-1902

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—Try to discover the causes for the revival of business. By collateral reading obtain a clear impression of Cuba under Spanish rule; decide upon what grounds, if any, the United States was warranted in interfering to secure Cuban independence. Notice the political effects of the war upon Spain and Cuba, and its influence upon the foreign policy and international position of the United States.

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658. The Dingley Tariff.—The President called Congress to meet in extra session March 15, 1897, to consider the revision of the tariff. A bill which had been prepared by Mr. Dingley of Maine, chairman of the committee of ways and means, was introduced soon after the organization of the House and was passed after a brief debate. In the Senate the opposition was strong enough to delay action, but the bill finally became a law July 4, 1897. It was thoroughly protective and caused a material increase in revenue. This result was secured rather by the substitution of specific[1] for *ad valorem* duties than by generally raising the rates, though there was a slight advance in the duty of the most common imports.

[1] A specific duty is a fixed amount levied upon the unit of measurement of a commodity, as upon each yard of silk or ton of coal. An *ad valorem* duty is one levied at a certain rate upon the total value of the article taxed, as forty per cent.

659. Monetary Commission.—In accordance with his promise to do what he could in the interests of bimetallism, the President appointed a monetary commission of three members, of which Senator Wolcott of Colorado was chairman, to confer with the leading countries of Europe for the purpose of securing an international basis for the coinage of both gold and silver. England refused to consider the proposition and India had already suspended silver coinage; with these obstacles in its way, the commission was unable to make progress.

WILLIAM McKINLEY
[After a photograph from life.]

660. Cuba.—Relations between the United States and Spain were somewhat strained during Cleveland's administration because of affairs in Cuba.[1] In 1895 the Cubans,

[1] Cuba had been in political and industrial turmoil for nearly half a century, and several attempts had been made by the United States to purchase the island from Spain in order to remove the menace to the industries of the United States. Many insurrections had occurred, all of which had been successfully mastered by extreme cruelty and oppression. The last one, between 1868 and 1878, succeeded in extorting a promise of representative government and other conciliatory measures, but the treaty was broken by Spain as soon as it was made.

under the leadership of Generals Gomez, Maceo and Garcia organized a formidable revolt. Although there was a large Spanish force in the island and strenuous efforts were made to suppress the insurrection, the Cubans were able to keep the field and to maintain a semblance of government. The struggle of the Cuban patriots naturally aroused the sympathy of the people of the United States, and there were, besides, large American interests, chiefly in sugar plantations, which were suffering heavily. Our commerce with Cuba was being demoralized. Mr. Cleveland had represented these facts to Spain, but without effect, and near the close of his term he intimated in a message to Congress that unless conditions were soon improved it would be the duty of the United States to interfere.

Congress held more radical views than President Cleveland, and was even then ready to take active measures to establish Cuban independence. The people also were aroused, and notwithstanding the watchfulness of the navy filibustering expeditions had frequently supplied the Cubans with arms and provisions. The Spanish government complained that the insurrection was aided by the United States and blamed our government for not maintaining a stricter watch over filibusters.

In February, 1896, General Campos, commander of the Spanish forces in Cuba, was superseded by General Weyler, who attempted to suppress the insurrection by harsh measures. He ruthlessly destroyed buildings and crops.

In those sections which had been thus devastated he confined non-combatants in camps within the Spanish lines, where, from lack of sanitary arrangements and proper food, thousands perished. Even United States citizens were imprisoned without trial.

CAPTAIN GENERAL WEYLER

Notwithstanding all difficulties, the Cubans continued to gain ground; they secured control of all the rural provinces save one, and even threatened Havana. The condition of the *reconcentrados* (those who were confined in camps) aroused universal sympathy in the United States, and money was raised for their relief, both by act of Congress and by private subscription. Weyler was soon replaced by General Blanco, who began a policy of conciliation; he proclaimed amnesty, promised to establish a partially independent government, released the *reconcentrados* and freed American citizens who were in prison. Spain also voted a large sum of money to relieve the destitute Cubans. But these reforms came too late; the

Cubans had been deceived too many times and were determined to win independence.

This was the status of affairs when Congress met in December, 1897. In his message, President McKinley reviewed the Cuban situation and declared that in view of her recent change in policy Spain should be given reasonable opportunity to restore order and contentment. He then added:

"If it shall hereafter appear to be a duty imposed by our obligations to ourselves, to civilization and to humanity, to intervene with force, it shall be without fault on our part, and only because the necessity for such action will be so clear as to command the support and approval of the civilized world."

661. The Maine.—In the latter part of January, 1898, the United States battleship *Maine*, under the command of Captain Sigsbee, was sent to Havana, ostensibly for a friendly visit, but actually for the purpose of protecting American interests. The ship was conducted to her place of anchorage by a pilot of the Spanish government. On the night of February 15, the *Maine* was destroyed by an explosion, and 266 of her crew perished. An

THE MAINE IN HAVANA HARBOR
Showing a rear view of the wreckage, with Havana in the background.

investigation by an American board of naval experts led to the conclusion that the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine. A Spanish board, making a similar investigation, reported that the explosion had occurred within the vessel. The report of the American board, though not placing blame upon the Spanish authorities, greatly intensified the general feeling against Spain. War seemed certain, and Congress immediately appropriated fifty million dollars for national defense.

WILLIAM THOMAS SAMPSON

662. Declaration of War.—In the latter part of March, President McKinley suggested to Spain that she grant a general amnesty until October 1, and he also offered to use his influence in behalf of peace. The reply was not satisfactory, and on April 10 the President sent to Congress a message declaring that the Cuban war must stop and asking authority to use the army and navy to end hostilities. Congress passed a resolution stating

that the people of Cuba "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent"; demanding that Spain at once relinquish her authority in the island; empowering the President to use force to accomplish that end, and disclaiming any purpose of the United States to exercise control or jurisdiction over the island except so far as was necessary to secure peace and order. Spain scorned this ultimatum, and on April 25 Congress passed a formal declaration of war. On April 23 the President called for 125,000 volunteers, and on May 25, for 75,000 more. Camps of instruction were established near Tampa, Fla., and Chickamauga, Ga., where the troops were equipped and drilled for service.

663. The Spanish-American War.—The first gun of the war was fired on April 23 by the United States ship *Nashville*, which captured the Spanish merchantman *Buena Ventura*. The first engagement occurred four days later, when three vessels under command of Rear Admiral Sampson, who had been sent to blockade the Cuban ports, bombarded Matanzas. In the weeks following, there were a number of other small engagements along the coast of Cuba, but only three during the war are worthy of special notice.

1. Manila Bay.—Commodore George Dewey, in command of the Asiatic squadron of the navy, was in Chinese waters at the outbreak of the war. He received orders to capture or destroy the Spanish Pacific fleet, which was then near the Philippine Islands. Dewey's squadron con-

sisted of the protected cruisers *Olympia, Baltimore, Boston* and *Raleigh,* the first-named his flagship, and the gunboats *Concord* and *Petrel,* in all mounting 131 guns and mustering 1,678 men. At daybreak on May 1 Dewey's squadron confronted in Manila Bay the Spanish fleet, commanded by Admiral Montojo and supported by land batteries. The combined Spanish force mounted more guns and threw more metal at a round than that of the Americans, yet after a bombardment of less than two hours, three of the largest Spanish ships were sunk and most of the others were set on fire. After a short rest the attack was renewed, and soon the American fleet had silenced the forts and sunk or burned every opposing vessel. Its casualties were remarkably few, none killed and but seven wounded.

GEORGE DEWEY

Since he had no troops to man the forts, Commodore Dewey made no attempt to capture Manila. However,

he guarded the harbor and controlled the situation until the arrival of American forces under General Merritt, when the combined attack of the land and naval forces led to the downfall of the city on August 13. At its cap-

THE OLYMPIA
Dewey's flagship at anchor in the Hudson River.

ture eleven thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the Americans.

2. Santiago.—Early in May the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera left the Cape Verde Islands, westward bound, and for a considerable time was lost to view. The uncertainty of its intentions caused anxiety in the Atlantic seaports, most of which were wholly unprotected. The coast was patrolled by the navy, and the Spanish squad-

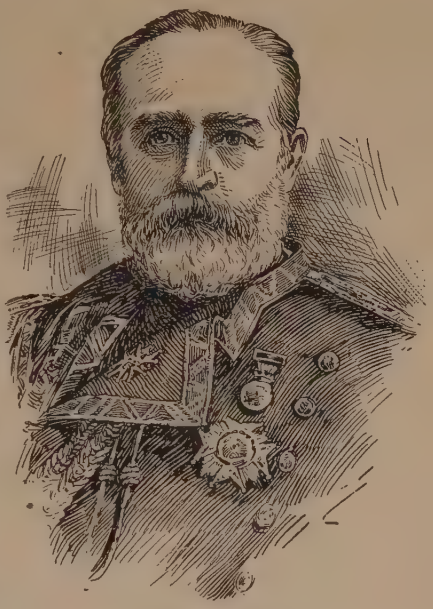
ron was finally located in the harbor of Santiago, on the southern coast of Cuba. There it was blockaded by an American fleet under Admirals Sampson and Schley.

Soon after the blockade was begun, one of the most daring feats in American history was performed by Lieutenant Richmond P. Hobson and a crew of volunteers, in attempting to sink the collier *Merrimac* across the neck of the harbor to prevent the escape of the Spanish fleet. The movement of the *Merrimac* was discovered too soon and it became the center of fire from the forts. A shot carried away the rudder and the collier sank lengthwise of the channel, thus defeating its purpose. The members of the crew were captured, but they were treated with the utmost courtesy and were soon exchanged.

WINFIELD SCOTT SCHLEY

On July 3 Admiral Sampson left the squadron for the purpose of consulting with General Shafter, who com-

manded an army investing Santiago. Cervera seized this opportunity to escape and attempted to run the blockade. The Spanish fleet consisted of four battleships, the *Maria Theresa*, the *Almarante Oquendo*, the *Vizcaya*, the *Cristobal Colon*, and two destroyers, the *Pluton* and the *Furor*. The American squadron was composed of the battleships *Indiana*, *Iowa*, *Oregon* and *Texas*, and the cruiser flagship *Brooklyn*, besides a number of smaller vessels. Admiral Sampson with his flagship, the cruiser *New York*, came upon the scene soon after the opening of the battle. On leaving the mouth of the harbor the Spanish vessels turned west, but the superiority of the American ships and gunnery was soon manifest. One by one the Spanish ships were beached, sunk or set on fire, and within four hours Cervera and his entire force were prisoners. The Spanish loss was 350 killed, 160 wounded and 1,700 prisoners. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable.



ADMIRAL CERVERA

A leading part in this victory was taken by the battleship *Oregon*, under the command of Captain Clark. The *Oregon*, which was at San Francisco at the outbreak of war, left port on March 14, rounded Cape Horn April 17 and appeared off Key West on May 24, having made a record trip, in point both of time and of distance. During the entire voyage of nearly sixteen thousand miles she met with no mishap and reached her destination in perfect condition and ready for immediate action.

A ROUGH RIDER

3. San Juan and El Caney.—On June 14, General Shafter had embarked from Tampa, Fla., with a force of seventeen thousand men, to coöperate with the navy in the capture of Santiago. The troops landed at Daiquiri and Siboney, a little east of Santiago, where they encountered a small force which was soon dispersed. But on the heights of San Juan and El Caney the enemy offered stubborn resistance in the only important land battle of the war.[1] The Americans succeeded in gaining these hills on July 2. The Spanish forces gradually retired within their entrenchments at Santiago, leaving masses of tangled barbed wire to obstruct the American advance. The rainy season had also set in, and the ground

[1] It was in these engagements that the Rough Riders attained distinction. This was a cavalry regiment composed largely of cowboys, organized through the efforts of Theodore Roosevelt, who resigned his position as first assistant secretary of the navy to assume command. It became the first regiment of United States volunteer cavalry.

THE OREGON

The United States battleship famous for its sixteen thousand mile journey from San Francisco around Cape Horn to the Caribbean Sea, and for its important part in the Battle of Santiago.

was so soft that the transportation of artillery and supplies was almost impossible; sickness was prevalent among the troops, the American lines were in an exposed position and an immediate attack or retirement was imperative. A bold demand for surrender was sent to General Toral, commander of the Spanish forces, with the promise that the Spanish troops would be carried to Spain free of charge. Further resistance was seen to be useless, and on July 15 the entire district of Santiago was surrendered.

WILLIAM R. SHAFTER
[From a photograph from life.]

General Miles proceeded to Porto Rico with a portion of the army intended for Santiago, and on July 25 he raised the United States flag over the island. Though encountering some resistance, the Americans rapidly gained control.

664. Peace.—On July 26 Spain made overtures for peace, and on October 12 a protocol was signed. This provided for a joint commission to meet in Paris to negotiate a treaty. The United States was represented by Judge William R. Day, chairman, Senators William P. Frye, Cushman K. Davis and George Gray, and Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York *Tribune*.

By the terms of the treaty, Spain relinquished all claims to Cuba and surrendered to the United States Porto Rico and others of the West Indies, also the Philippine Islands and Guam in the Pacific, for all of which the United States paid twenty million dollars. The treaty also provided that Spain should enjoy until 1909 special commercial privileges in the Philippines.

665. Financial Measures.—The expenses of the war were met by a fifty million dollar loan, by the sale of three per cent bonds to the amount of two hundred million dollars and by the Special Revenue Act of 1899. This doubled the taxes on tobacco and fermented liquors, placed special taxes on banks and places of amusement and laid a stamp tax on a great variety of commercial paper, such as bills of lading, bank checks and telegrams, and upon certain commodities, such as proprietary medicines and toilet articles. The increase in taxes was cheerfully met by the people, and afforded ample revenue. In April, 1901, a portion of the taxes were remitted, and a year later the entire law was repealed.

666. Dewey's Triumphant Return.—For his excellent service in the Philippines, Commodore Dewey was raised to the rank of admiral and placed at the head of the navy. After the war he returned home by the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean, and wherever he stopped received

DEWEY ARCH, NEW YORK

A temporary arch erected on Fifth Avenue, in celebration of the home-coming of Admiral George Dewey, in September, 1899. The arch was planned by C. R. Lamb, and its chief decorative groups are the work of Ward, Niehaus, French and Bitter.

marked attention. A special celebration was held in his honor in New York, where the Dewey Arch was erected to commemorate his achievements. He was also invited to Chicago, where a special celebration was held, and he was appointed by President McKinley a member of the first Philippine commission.

667. Results of the War.—1. Military Reorganization in United States.—The war revealed the weakness of the American military department. At the outbreak of hostilities, the army was without suitable equipment or supplies and was laboring under an antiquated and defective organization. The soldiers suffered from poor and insufficient food, clothing, shelter and hospital service, and from unnecessary delays. After the war an official investigation showed clearly the necessity for radical reforms. The result was a general reorganization of the army, the institution of a general staff to take the place of commander in chief, and other beneficial changes.

PORTO RICO

2. Porto Rico.—Porto Rico, with an area about three-quarters that of Connecticut and a population equal to that of Maryland, was soon placed under better government than it had ever before known. Within a short time the island was given a territorial government, with a legislature consisting of an upper and a lower house, the latter chosen by popular election. Unjust taxation and other oppressive laws were abolished; public schools were established, the people were encouraged and aided to

improve their condition and to develop their resources. Close trade relations were in time arranged with the United States. As a result Porto Rico soon proved itself to be one of the richest and most attractive islands of the West Indies.

3. Cuban Independence.—The United States immediately assumed control of Cuba and established a military government. Spanish rule terminated January 1, 1899. On that date General Brooke became military and civil governor, and military governors were appointed for each of the six provinces. As a proof of its good will, the United States appropriated three million dollars to be distributed among the officers and men of the Cuban army, who were thus enabled to return to their homes and resume work.

ENTRANCE TO SANTIAGO HARBOR
Showing wreck of the Spanish warship *Reina Mercedes* in the distance.

In December, 1899, General Brooke was succeeded by General Leonard Wood, who continued the work already begun. Roads and railways were reconstructed and improved; common schools on the American plan were established; a thorough prison reform was instituted; dishonest and useless methods of administering justice were

abolished; the work of sanitation was inaugurated throughout the island, the large cities being thoroughly cleaned, with the result that yellow fever, which had flourished in certain seasons of every year, was practically stamped out.

In April, 1900, steps were taken for the inauguration of municipal governments, and in July General Wood issued a call for a constitutional convention. This assembled in November and framed a constitution modeled after that of the United States. This instrument was adopted February 21, 1901. The relations with the United States not being wholly satisfactory to the United States government, certain changes were demanded, the most important of which, incorporated in what is known as the "Platt Amendment," provided that the Cuban government should not enter into any treaty with a foreign power which should in any way impair the independence

TOMAS ESTRADA PALMA
First president of the Republic of Cuba.

of Cuba, and should not allow any foreign power to obtain territory in the island; that the Cuban government should not contract any public debt for the payment of which it could not make adequate provision, and that the government of Cuba recognize the right of the United States to interfere for the purpose of preserving Cuban independence or of protecting life, property and liberty in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Paris. These amendments being accepted by Cuba, a general election was held December 31, and the new government was organized May 20, 1902, with Tomas Estrada Palma as president.

QUESTIONS

How did the Dingley bill differ from the Wilson bill? From the McKinley bill? What is the difference between *ad valorem* and specific duties? Why would the latter probably produce greater revenue?

Did the Spanish government have good reason for believing that the United States assisted the Cubans before 1898? In what respects was the American navy superior to the Spanish?

What do you consider the most important engagement of the war? Why?

What effect would the annexation of Cuba to the United States have had upon the relations of the latter to the European powers?

Would the United States have been morally or legally justified in taking possession of the Philippine Islands without reimbursing Spain? Why?

REFERENCES

For a detailed account of the Dingley Act see Taussig's *Tariff History of the United States*, ch. vii; also Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, pp. 463-465. For a full account of the Spanish-American War see Lodge's *The War With Spain*. Roosevelt's *The Rough Riders* gives an account of the campaign against Santiago. For the work of the navy, consult Spears's *Our Navy in the War With Spain*.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Dingley Tariff Bill passed	1897
Destruction of *Maine*	Feb. 15, 1898
War declared against Spain	Apr. 25, 1898
Battle of Manila Bay	May 1, 1898
Cervera's fleet destroyed	July 3, 1898
Surrender of Santiago	July 17, 1898
Porto Rico occupied	July 25, 1898
Peace protocol signed	Aug. 12, 1898
Fall of Manila	Aug. 13, 1898
Treaty of Paris	Dec. 10, 1898
Cuba under United States jurisdiction; first Philippine commission appointed	1899
Republic of Cuba established	1902

CHAPTER XIII

THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER

1776-1906

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—This chapter summarizes the effects of certain previously described events which have marked steps in the progress of the United States as a world power. It is obvious that the significance of such events cannot be appreciated from such a cursory view as is given in this chapter, but only by a full understanding of their causes, of the character and purposes of the chief actors in them, of the conditions under which they occurred, of their immediate results and of later events which disclosed their real meaning and importance. Such a complete view of the topics discussed may be most easily obtained by use of the *Index* at the end of this volume, which gives in consecutive, and usually in chronological, order, references to every important fact bearing upon the movement.

By collateral reading learn more of the physical characteristics of the Philippines and Porto Rico; also of the history, customs and beliefs of their people, of their industrial progress and their present political and commercial status.

Try to find the real reason for each step in American expansion. Note the particular principle upon which each was based. Study the effects of the policy and decide whether it was advantageous or injurious to the interests of the United States and of the people affected.

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668. Introductory.—It was the hope of the early American statesmen that the United States, while maintaining friendly relations with all nations, should form "entangling alliances with none" and should accordingly resist foreign interference in American affairs.[1] With

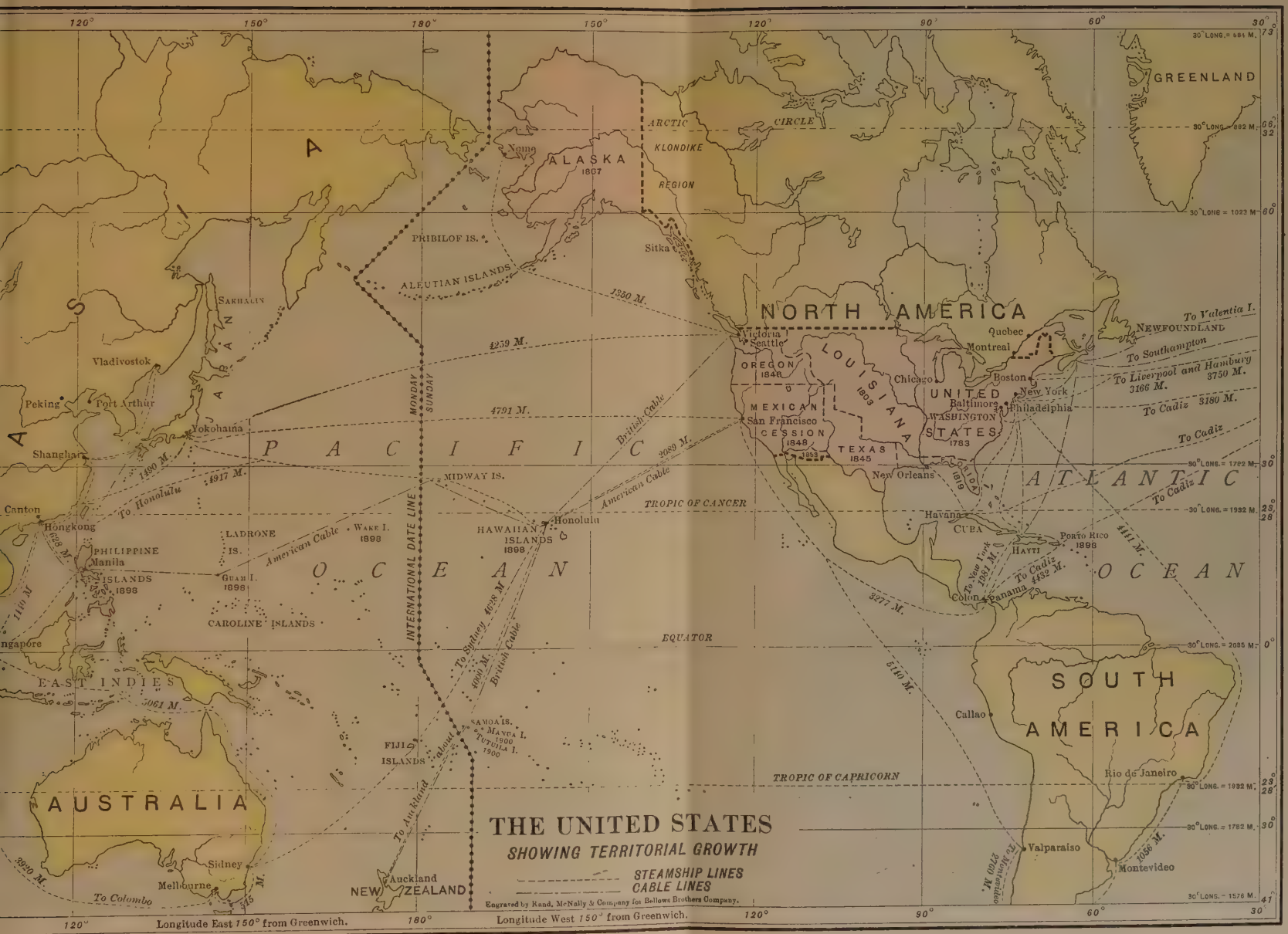
[1] The first formal announcement of this policy was contained in Washington's neutrality proclamation (Section 342, 2).

the possible exception of Alexander Hamilton, who hoped that the United States would eventually include all of North America, the idea of territorial expansion was not seriously entertained by the men who framed the Constitution. Yet even before that instrument was adopted, the new nation, under their guidance, was acting upon a far broader view of its purpose and destiny.

669. The Beginnings of Expansion.—Though unforeseen, the early steps leading toward expansion were inevitable. The new government found itself almost compelled to abandon the old theory of weak central government and to create a vast public domain, in order to quiet the mutual jealousies and fears of the several states (Section 315). Again, when part of that domain was organized into the Northwest Territory, it was found necessary to promise that it should be erected into states upon equal footing with all other states of the Union (Section 315, 5). A few years after the adoption of the Constitution, when Jefferson purchased Louisiana (Section 383), he acted not with the intention, solely, of extending the dominion of the United States, but for the purpose of removing a constant peril to the security and peace of the American people. That purchase led inevitably to the acquisition of territory by exploration. Through the expeditions of Lewis and Clark (Section 388, 1) and other explorers by land and sea, the United States was enabled to lay claim to the rich Oregon region and eventually to divide it with Great Britain (Sections 427, 2 and 472). When in 1819

Florida was acquired, it was in order to remove from our southern borders the annoyance and danger arising from weak and ineffectual Spanish government (Section 427, 1). In the admission of Texas, which had severed her union with Mexico and formed an independent government, the United States overstepped all precedent and admitted to the Union a foreign state (Sections 471 and 473). That transaction, however unjustifiable the method by which it was accomplished, resulted from a natural and inevitable demand for the extension of American institutions, in order that they might not suffer from stagnation. The Mexican War followed and led to another and even more radical change in American policy—the acquisition of territory by conquest (Sections 474 and 476). This step represented not only the desire to extend the institution of slavery, iniquitous as it was, but also arose from the growing pride in America's "manifest destiny."

670. Expansion Completed.—1. Change in National Spirit.—To this point United States policy had been consistent; each step in the expansion of territory, though taken with a new and peculiar purpose, had been closely related to the nation's own material or political welfare; each addition had been contiguous to the last; the territory of the country, though multiplied in extent, was still united; the American people, though representing many nations and races and living under various climatic and physiographic conditions, still were able to attain, through the expansion of commerce and communication and the


THE UNITED STATES
SHOWING TERRITORIAL GROWTH
STEAMSHIP LINES
CABLE LINES
Engraved by Rand, McNally & Company for Bellows Brothers Company.
Longitude East 150° from Greenwich.
Longitude West 150° from Greenwich.
NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
GREENLAND
ALASKA 1867
ARCTIC CIRCLE
KLONDIKE REGION
Nome
Sitka
PRIBILOF IS.
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
SAKHALIN
JAPAN
Vladivostok
Peking
Port Arthur
Yokohama
Shanghai
Canton
Hongkong
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1898
Manila
LADRONE IS.
GUAM I. 1898
CAROLINE ISLANDS
EAST INDIES
AUSTRALIA
Sidney
Melbourne
To Colombo
MIDWAY IS.
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS 1898
Honolulu
WAKE I. 1898
FIJI ISLANDS
SAMOA IS.
MANUA I. 1900
TUTUILA I. 1900
Auckland
NEW ZEALAND
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INTERNATIONAL DATE LINE
MONDAY
SUNDAY
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
British Cable
American Cable
To Sydney 4628 M.
To Auckland about 4000 M.
To Honolulu 4917 M.
To Colombo
1350 M.
4259 M.
4791 M.
2089 M.
3277 M.
5140 M.
4441 M.
3920 M.
Victoria
Seattle
OREGON 1848
MEXICAN CESSION 1848
San Francisco
LOUISIANA 1803
TEXAS 1845
New Orleans
UNITED STATES 1783
WASHINGTON
Chicago
Montreal
Quebec
Boston
New York
Baltimore
Philadelphia
FLORIDA 1819
Havana
CUBA
HAYTI
PORTO RICO 1898
Colon
Panama
Callao
Rio de Janeiro
Valparaiso
Montevideo
NEWFOUNDLAND
To Valentia I.
To Southampton
To Liverpool and Hamburg 3750 M.
3166 M.
To Cadiz 3180 M.
To Cadiz
To Cadiz
To New York 1981 M.
To Cadiz 4432 M.
To Montevideo 2760 M.
1056 M.
30° LONG. = 684 M.
30° LONG. = 882 M.
30° LONG. = 1023 M.
30° LONG. = 1782 M.
30° LONG. = 1932 M.
30° LONG. = 2085 M.
30° LONG. = 1932 M.
30° LONG. = 1782 M.
30° LONG. = 1576 M.

establishment of the same free institutions, a community of interest.

But this territorial expansion was attended by a corresponding change in national spirit and ideals. Interests expanded with the expansion of boundaries; imagination and enterprise were stirred by the presence of the undeveloped West; the steamboat, the railway and the telegraph brought this region of promise and opportunity constantly nearer the center of affairs in the East; other inventions stimulated manufacturing industries and led to the development of agricultural lands. These advances extended commerce and brought the nation into closer contact with the other civilized countries of the world.

COMPARATIVE SIZE OF ALASKA AND UNITED STATES

2. The Monroe Doctrine.—Thus there developed a governmental policy in keeping with the expansion of national interest. It was first distinctly expressed in President Monroe's famous message and is still known as the Monroe Doctrine. It declares in substance that America is for Americans; that the United States is the paramount power in the Western Hemisphere; that it

will view as an unfriendly act, therefore, the attempt of any European nation to extend its domain over any part of the American continents. It thus served notice upon the powers of the world that the wishes of the new American republic were henceforth to be regarded in the

THE IOWA
One of the first battleships built for the new United States navy, the guardian of the Western Hemisphere.

disposal of American territory and in the conduct of diplomacy relating to American states. The reality of this new factor in world diplomacy was abundantly proved at the close of the Civil War, when the French had all but placed the unfortunate Maximilian upon the throne of Mexico. At a signal from the United States the invaders withdrew, leaving Mexico under the government of its

own people. In 1895 the American government, asserting the right of the United States by virtue of its paramount position in America to prevent encroachments by foreign powers, compelled England to submit its territorial claims against Venezuela to arbitration, and thus to furnish additional precedent for sustaining the contention of the United States.

Recent events have caused the application of the Monroe Doctrine to be extended. It is now held by American statesmen that the determination of the United States to exclude forcible intervention by foreign powers in American affairs morally obliges this nation to employ its influence to lead the weaker American states in the paths of honor and progress in their dealings with European nations.

BLOCKHOUSE, SITKA, ALASKA
Erected during the Russian occupation of Alaska, which terminated in 1867.

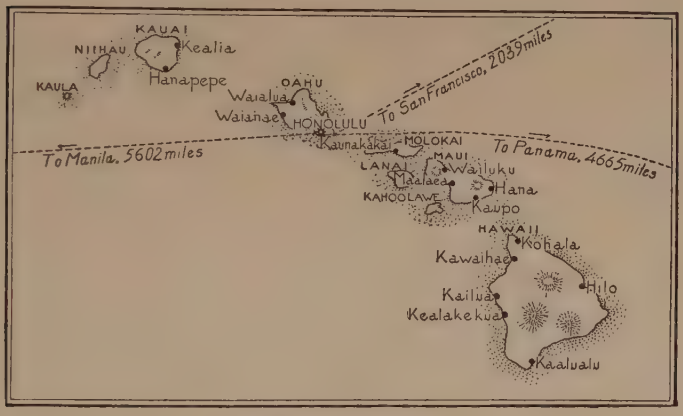
3. The Purchase of Alaska.—But before American policy had reached such striking conclusions, it had been influenced by an event through which the United States

made another distinct advance as a world power. This was the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867. In this transaction one important change in United States policy appeared—the region transferred was separated from the United States by the territory of a foreign power. The purposes leading to the transfer, however, were in line with American traditions, namely, to secure the retirement of a European power from North America, to restrict the expansion of British influence in the Pacific, and, indirectly, to make possible the eventual union of Canada and the United States, a consummation considered by American statesmen of that time to be inevitable.

4. The Annexation of Hawaiian Islands.—Another long step in a new direction was taken with the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands in 1898 (Section 654). This acquisition, the first beyond the shores of North America, gave the United States a foothold in the Pacific, from which to gain advantage in the race for the commerce of the East, a prize which was beginning to command the efforts of all civilized nations.

5. The Acquisition of the Philippines.—This position was greatly strengthened as a result of the Spanish-American War, which threw into the possession of the United States an island empire thousands of miles from its nearest coast and upon the very threshold of Asia. By that event three alternatives were presented to the United States: (1) The nation could accept the place among the great powers of the world toward which it had been mov-

ing, unconsciously but none the less constantly, for more than a century; (2) it could relinquish the islands to their own people or to some other powerful protector and retire again to the political seclusion which was its traditional ideal; (3) it could leave the Philippines, like Cuba, free and independent in internal affairs, but restricted in its foreign relations. The administration, sustained by



THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Congress and the people, believed that to give the islands independence was to leave them a prey to the ignorance and avarice of their own people; to surrender them to a foreign nation was to doom them to oppression and exploitation; to establish an American protectorate would entail constant expense and danger of international complications. It therefore decided to accept the new responsibility with all its perils and problems. The task confronting the government was unparalleled in its mag-

nitude—to make the absolute government of a semi-barbaric race conform to the ideals which had governed the enlightened American people.

671. The Philippines.—The Philippine archipelago, as bounded by the Treaty of Paris, extends from 4° 30′ to 26° 30′ north latitude, and with the exception of a small point, from 116° to 127° longitude east from Greenwich. Its total length is approximately one thousand miles, and its width six hundred miles. Within these limits are over thirty-one hundred islands, having a total area of one hundred fifteen thousand square miles, about equal to the combined areas of Nevada and Connecticut. Only two of these islands have areas exceeding ten thousand square miles; Luzon, the largest, is about the size of Ohio, and Mindanao, the next in size, is about equal to Indiana. Nearly

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

twenty-eight hundred of the islands have an area of less than one square mile each; leaving only three hundred that are large enough to be of great value as places of residence or for agricultural or other industrial purposes. The islands are of volcanic origin, are very irregular in shape, and have a combined coast line exceeding that of the United States.

A GROUP OF FILIPINOS

The land is exceptionally fertile. Nearly two-thirds of it is covered with dense forests containing many varieties of valuable timber. Agriculture is the chief industry, but it is carried on by primitive methods. There is an abundance of coal of good quality, and considerable deposits of iron ore have been discovered. The climate is tropical and somewhat unhealthful for Americans, though in the highlands of the interior more favorable conditions obtain. The people number about 7,700,000. Of these, about 7,000,000 have attained to a fair degree of civilization, while the rest are savages. There are about 25,000 whites, 45,000 Chinese and 1,000 Japanese in the islands.

Of the civilized tribes the Visayans, occupying most of the islands between Luzon and Mindanao, form nearly one-half; the Tagalogs or Tagals, occupying the provinces around Manila, rank second, with a little more than one-fifth of the civilized population, and the Ilcanos, with one-eighth, rank third. About nine-tenths of the inhabitants are Christian and for more than two hundred fifty years have been under the guidance of Roman Catholic priests. The remainder are about equally divided between pagans and Mohammedans. Each tribe has its own language; there is no language common to even the islands inhabited by the civilized peoples. In race, most of the inhabitants are Malays.

672. The Philippine Insurrection.—Before the war between the United States and Spain, an insurrection had broken out in Luzon under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, an educated Filipino. The Spanish authorities suppressed the rebellion and attempted to pacify the people by promising reforms and paying the leaders large sums of money to leave the country. The reforms promised were not instituted, and Aguinaldo, among others, still

NATIVE HUTS, PANAY
Typical homes of Filipinos near Iloilo, on the island of Panay.

hoped for an independent government. He saw in the Spanish-American War an opportunity to return to the islands and proclaim a republic. His forces received arms and munitions from the American authorities, and for a time coöperated with them and invested Manila by land, but soon, distrusting the intentions of the United States, withdrew. Aguinaldo and his followers then claimed that the United States had broken a solemn promise to give the Filipinos independence under conditions similar to those governing Cuba. In January, 1899, Aguinaldo organized a provisional government, which adopted a constitution and early in August applied to the powers of the world to recognize the independence of the islands and the native forces as belligerents.

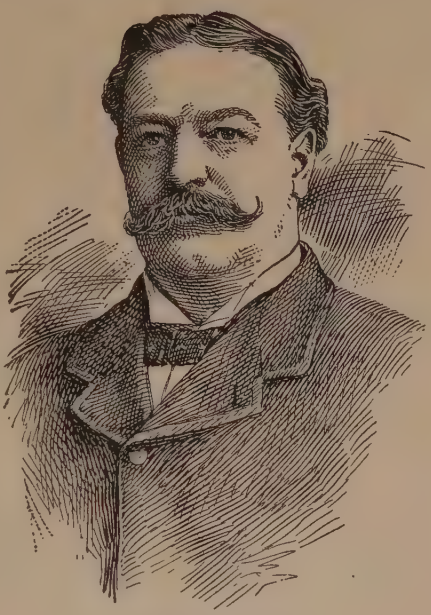
EMILIO AGUINALDO

The cession of the islands to the United States by the Treaty of Paris, and President McKinley's proclamation

that military government should be extended over them as rapidly as possible increased the hostility between Aguinaldo and the Americans. To find the true cause of the difficulty, to investigate existing conditions and to conciliate the leading Filipinos, the first United States Philippine commission was appointed in December, 1898.[1] The last-named purpose the commission utterly failed to accomplish. On February 4, 1899, hostilities broke out between the Filipino forces and American troops who were holding the city of Manila. For nearly nine months military operations were confined to the vicinity of the city, and the American troops made little progress toward putting down the insurrection, but fortunes finally changed. The republic was suppressed, the insurrection became a struggle on the part of Aguinaldo and his personal followers to perpetuate his power, and finally descended into a species of guerrilla warfare in which armed bands known as *ladrones*, organized for the purpose of murder and robbery, played the most conspicuous part. Aguinaldo was captured March 3, 1901, and soon after took the oath of allegiance to the United States. With this event resistance to American forces practically ceased. During the war the United States had sent to the islands about 28,000 officers and men, of whom more than 4,100 lost their lives in battle, from wounds or through disease.

[1] This commission consisted of President Jacob G. Schurman of Cornell University, Admiral Dewey, General Otis, Charles Denby, ex-minister to China, and Dean C. Worcester of the University of Michigan.

673. Government in the Philippines.—A second Philippine commission, with greatly enlarged powers, was appointed in the spring of 1900. It consisted of William H. Taft of Ohio, chairman, Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, Henry C. Ide of Vermont and Bernard Moses of California. The commission immediately began the work of inaugurating civil government in those provinces which had been pacified. Wherever possible the native inhabitants were given a share in local government. On July 4, 1901, Judge Taft was inaugurated civil governor, and military rule ceased except in a few localities. Schools were established and a thousand American teachers were engaged; in many ways the Filipinos were encouraged to improve their material and intellectual condition.



WILLIAM H. TAFT

An act passed by Congress in 1902 provided in detail for the establishment of civil government on a basis which

should allow the Filipinos to take a large share of political responsibility. It also established a system of courts and provided for the taking of a census. This last measure was to be followed by the creation of a legislative assembly for the islands, which was to act subject to the control of the United States authorities. Progress along these lines was rapid. Government was simplified and adapted to the capacity of the people and to the conditions under which it must be administered. In addition, over six thousand miles of telephone, telegraph and cable wires were laid, mail facilities were enlarged and improved, railways were extended and roads were constructed. In 1903 the American Pacific cable was completed, providing direct telegraphic communication with the United States.

674. The Issue of Imperialism.[1]—It was impossible

[1] The following table shows the main facts concerning the territorial expansion of the United States:

Territorial Division	Year	Area Added (Sq. mi.)	Purchase Price
Louisiana	1803	875,025	$15,000,000
Florida	1819	70,107	5,499,768
Texas	1845	389,795	.....
Oregon Territory	1846	288,689	.....
Mexican Cession	1848	523,802	18,250,000
Gadsden Purchase	1853	36,211	10,000,000
Alaska	1867	599,446	7,200,000
Hawaiian Islands	1897	6,740	.....
Porto Rico	1898	3,600	.....
Guam	1898	175	.....
Philippine Islands	1898	143,000	20,000,000
Tutuila (Samoa Is.)	1899	73	.....
Additional Philippines	1901	68	100,000
Total		2,937,613	77,039,768*
Original Territory	1783	827,844	
Total		3,765,457	

*This does not include $10,000,000 paid to Texas for territory outside of its present boundaries but included in the state at the time of annexation.

that so radical a measure as the acquisition and retention of the Philippines should be accepted without challenge, and it was bitterly opposed by a strong faction in the United States. This opposition was chiefly based on the following propositions:

CITY WALL, CAVITE
Showing handsome gateway in right background.

(1) To retain the Philippines with any other intention than to admit them into the family of states would require that they be ruled absolutely and be denied the equality of rights which the United States had always proclaimed was a fundamental law of organized society. It would not only be contrary to all American traditions and policies but would endanger the liberties of the American people themselves, by opening the way for the extension of paternalism in domestic institutions and by placing vast power in the hands of the central government, which was already exercising far greater functions than the Constitution intended.

(2) The people were in no way fit for citizenship in the United States, neither in moral and intellectual capacity

nor in temperament. If the islands were retained, therefore, they must be held as colonies.

(3) But the people of the United States were wholly inexperienced in colonial administration, and with the frequent change in appointments consequent upon their electoral system, could not successfully govern a country so far away and inhabited by a people so different from their own.

GATEWAY, MANILA
The principal entrance to the old section of the city; considered an excellent example of Spanish architecture.

(4) The administration of the islands would necessitate the creation of another vast body of officials, which, in turn, would lead to demoralizing corruption in the United States government itself; would entail a tremendous expenditure for both civil and military establishments and yet would yield no adequate return in commercial profits; would entangle the United States in the political contro-

versies of other nations, and would subject the United States to the expense and risk of insurrection.

Many leaders of all political parties held these views and vigorously denounced the measures of the administration as imperialistic in nature. So, "imperialism" became the "paramount issue" in the next campaign.

SPANISH FORT, CAVITE
After bombardment by American warships.

675. The Legal Status of the Colonies.—The question of the relation of the new possessions to the nation was raised in 1899 over the payment of duties upon goods transported from the islands to the United States. Did the "Constitution follow the flag"? If so, the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines were American citizens and the

tariff between the United States and the islands must be abolished. The question finally reached the Supreme Court and a majority of the justices decided that the Constitution did not "follow the flag," except so far as Congress decreed; that the islands did not become a part of the United States proper, but were rather "territories appurtenant thereto"; that the inhabitants were not citizens of the United States, and that the revenue clauses of the Constitution did not forbid placing a tariff upon merchandise going to or coming from the islands.

676. The Campaign of 1900.—McKinley and Bryan were the standard bearers of the Republican and Democratic parties, respectively, in the campaign of 1900. Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, reluctantly accepted the Republican nomination for vice-president, and Adlai Stevenson of Illinois was the Democratic candidate. The Republicans declared for the gold standard, favored the construction and ownership of an isthmian canal by the government, approved the administration's foreign policy and promised the people in the newly acquired possessions the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and with the duty of the United States to its own people and to humanity. The Democrats endorsed the silver plank in their platform of 1896; condemned the administration's foreign policy; insisted that it was the duty of the United States to withdraw its army from the Philippines immediately upon the establishment of a suitable government there,

to recognize the islands as independent and to protect them from foreign interference; agreed with the Republicans that an isthmian canal should be constructed under the jurisdiction of the United States, and denounced illegal trusts.

SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO
The municipal building and Plaza.

The coinage act which had finally been passed in 1900 provided for a gold standard, and the political character of the Senate was such that the law could not be repealed during the next four years; so, regardless of the silver plank in the Democratic platform, the coinage question was already settled till the next presidential election. This forced the question of imperialism forward. But the "Anti-Imperialists" proved to be in the minority. Many men, though not entirely reconciled to the conditions which made necessary the change in national policy, felt that the nation had a moral duty to educate and protect the Filipinos until they were fully able to rule themselves. Others felt that the episode had given the United States a great opportunity to extend American influence in the

Orient, not only in the interests of American commercial development but for impressing high aims and principles upon the peoples of the East and upon Europeans in their relations with Asiatic nations. The Republicans were successful by an overwhelming majority; McKinley and Roosevelt received 292 electoral votes, and Bryan and Stevenson but 155. McKinley's popular majority was over 443,000.

INSULAR BUILDING, MANILA
An imposing structure in the old walled portion of the city.

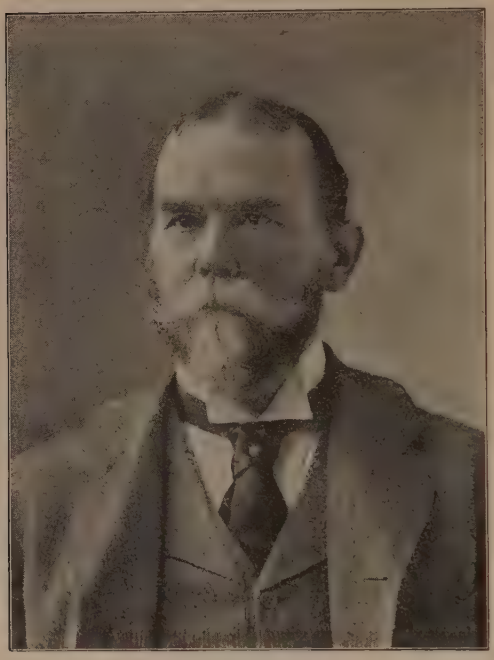
677. Death of President McKinley. — The election showed emphatic popular approval of President McKinley's policies, but he was not to see his plans carried to completion. On September 6, 1901, while holding a public reception at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, the President was shot and fatally wounded by an anarchist named Czolgocz. He died on September 14.

Vice-president Roosevelt then took the oath of office and immediately appointed September 19 as a day for mourning and prayer. Unprecedented honors were paid the martyred president in European countries, and in London special services were held in Westminster Abbey by order of King Edward VII. In the United States, on the day of the funeral all work ceased throughout the country for five minutes, and special services were held in nearly all the churches of the land.

678. The Isthmian Canal.—The rise of the United States as a world power was greatly aided by the result of her effort to promote the construction of an isthmian canal. When President Roosevelt assumed the duties of his office, the canal question was nearly four centuries old. During most of that time Spain, France and Great Britain had all been interested in the project, but none had made important progress. Several surveys under private auspices had been made across Panama and through Nicaragua, and in 1878 a French company was organized under the leadership of Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had constructed the Suez Canal, to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. After working a number of years and expending an enormous sum of money, this company failed and was succeeded by another, which, however, was unable to procure sufficient capital to warrant its success.

In 1850 the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty had been negotiated between the United States and Great Britain, and, among

other things, it provided that neither country should have absolute control over any canal across the isthmus joining the two Americas. In 1901 this treaty was superseded by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which recognized the right of the United States to construct, own and control an Isthmian canal. Meantime, in 1895, the United States had appointed a commission to investigate the advantages of the Nicaragua route. This commission was succeeded by another, headed by Rear Admiral John G. Walker, who, after a thorough examination, reported that the Panama route would be the more desirable, provided the rights and property of the French company could be purchased for a reasonable sum. After some correspondence the French concern offered to sell its



JOHN HAY
[From a photograph from life.]

franchise and complete assets for forty million dollars, and its proposal was accepted by the United States government on the condition that the title to its property be absolutely clear and that the Colombian government negotiate a satisfactory treaty with the United States. The treaty with Colombia was negotiated and passed the United States Senate in January, 1903, but was rejected by the Colombian congress in the following summer. The rejection of this treaty led to the secession of the province of Panama from Colombia and the establishment of an independent republic. This government was at once recognized by the United States, and a treaty providing for the construction and ownership of the canal was soon concluded. The President appointed a commission, under whose direction operations were begun. The chairman was given almost dictatorial powers throughout the canal zone, while the actual work of construction was under the supervision of an expert engineer. The completion of this canal, shortening by more

CAPE NOME, ALASKA
Main street during the early days of the rush to the Klondike gold fields.

than half the water distance from New York to San Francisco, will add greatly to the commercial power and prestige of the United States.

679. The Alaskan Boundary Award.—Since the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867, the boundary of the territory had been constantly in dispute between the United States and Great Britain. The main contention concerned the right of the British to certain points on the seacoast which would give the great Northwest Territory its own outlet for commerce. This claim was pressed with renewed vigor after 1897, for in that year extensive gold fields were discovered, not only in the British Northwest Territory but in the disputed region as well. Great Britain based her case upon a treaty signed by England and Russia in 1825, but the exact interpretation of certain clauses had never been sufficiently determined

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY
Shaded portion shows the disputed territory, awarded to the United States by joint commission.

by the two countries. In 1903 a treaty was signed by Secretary of State Hay and the British ambassador at Washington, referring the question of the Alaskan boundary to a joint commission, consisting of three representatives of the United States, two of Canada and one of England. In October of that year the commission published its decision, by which the United States was awarded practically the whole territory in dispute.[1]

680. The United States a Power in the Orient.—It was inevitable that the United States, with its extensive coast line on the Pacific, should become a leading power in that sea. Its control of the Hawaiian and Philippine islands, with coaling stations on Guam and Tutuila and on other small islands throughout the Pacific, required that it should take a prominent part in Oriental diplomacy. Under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, John Hay was secretary of state and showed himself to be one of the ablest of the world's diplomats. His aims were high, his demands absolutely frank, his methods perfectly honest. He did much to lift diplomacy from the depths of trickery and deceit to the plane of sincerity and conviction, and early gained the respect of European statesmen for American ideals and interests.

Among the first problems with which Secretary Hay had to deal was the question of the "open door" in China.

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[1] This controversy and its method of settlement, together with the disposal in 1899, by a similar method, of the old Bering Sea dispute, is indicative of the growing sentiment among both the great English-speaking peoples in favor of the arbitration of international disputes.

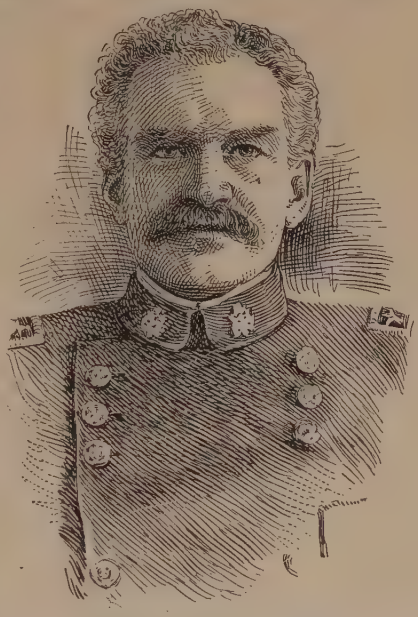
For centuries the policy of the Chinese Empire had been to exclude foreign commerce and influence from its territory.[1] In 1898 Germany leased from China the Bay of Kiao-Chau. Soon afterward Russia leased Port Arthur and the Liao-Tung Peninsula. England had previously secured the important city of Hong-Kong and other minor posts. In September, 1899, Secretary Hay, fearing that these steps were but the beginning of the end of the integrity of China, requested the representatives of the United States in England, France, Germany, Russia, Italy and Japan to invite those governments to state their intentions in regard to the treatment of the commerce of foreign powers in their respective spheres of influence in China. He also urged that China be regarded, as heretofore, an open market for the commerce of the world, and that, while the governments use all proper influence to secure needed reforms, they strive to preserve and

GREEK CHURCH, SITKA
Place of worship of the Russian residents of the city.

[1] This led to underhanded efforts on the part of European nations striving for commercial ascendency to gain special advantages from the Chinese government, and it seemed probable that the dismemberment of the ancient Chinese Empire could not long be prevented.

strengthen the Chinese government. By March 20, 1900, all the great powers had approved the proposals. Thus the "open door" in China and the integrity of the empire were for a time, at least, assured.

During the Boxer uprising of 1900, the foreign legations in Peking were besieged; the chancellor of the Japanese embassy and Baron Von Kettler, the German minister, were slain. Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, the United States and Japan sent troops to the scene, numbering, all told, twelve thousand men, and united to form an army of relief, with Count Von Waldersee of the German detachment as commander. The allied forces bombarded and destroyed the forts at Tien-tsin and occupied the city, then marched to Peking, entering the capital on August 14. On the following day they relieved the besieged legations. In the adjustment of difficulties following this episode, the United States, by her conservative position and disinter-



GENERAL ADNA R. CHAFFEE
Commander of the American forces in China durimg the Boxer uprising of 1900.

ested attempts to save China from dismemberment, not only won the gratitude of the Chinese people and government, but the confidence of the allied powers.

At the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War, in 1904, Secretary Hay, by again enlisting the coöperation of the great powers, succeeded in obtaining the consent of the belligerents to confine the war to the province of Manchuria and to provide for the continuance of the "open door" policy in the Far East, whatever the result of the struggle.

But one of the most emphatic successes of the United States in international affairs was achieved in 1905 by President Roosevelt. Through his influence the envoys of Russia and Japan met at Portsmouth, N. H., and negotiated a treaty of peace. For his frank and sympathetic labors in the interests of peace, President Roosevelt received the gratitude and praise, not only of the nations directly interested, but of all civilized peoples.

Thus, at the opening of the twentieth century, the United States was universally recognized as the representative of the highest national ideals and as a leader in the world-wide activity for the upliftment of mankind.

QUESTIONS

Why were the founders of the republic afraid of alliances with foreign nations? Was this fear well founded? Should the policy of isolation still be followed?

How did the United States first obtain a public domain? State the new principles of American policy involved in each of the following episodes: The creation of the public domain; the Ordinance of

1787; the purchase of Louisiana; the purchase of Florida; the admission of Texas; the conquest of California; the annexation of Oregon; the purchase of Alaska; the annexation of Hawaii; the acquisition of the Philippines. Mention five causes that have contributed to the growth of a national spirit. Which do you consider most potent? How has commercial growth affected political policy?

Has the purchase of Alaska proved a profitable investment? Give your reasons.

How far is Manila from San Francisco? What Philippine products are brought to the United States? What causes led to the war in the Philippines? What is the present political status of the islands?

What was the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty? What was the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty? Describe the present situation in Panama.

REFERENCES

Willis Fletcher Johnson's *A Century of Expansion* is an able discussion of the political phases of the growth of the United States as a world power, and Edmund J. Carpenter's *The American Advance* gives a concise account of the historical phases of the same movement. Lala's *The Philippine Islands* describes them from the point of view of an educated native, and Sawyer's *The Inhabitants of the Philippines*, from the standpoint of an Englishman. Consult, also, Andrews's *History of the United States in Our Own Times*, pp. 820-878.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Public domain created	1780
Northwest Territory organized	1787
Louisiana purchased	1803
Lewis and Clark expedition	1804
Florida purchased	1819
Texas admitted	1845
Oregon divided by treaty with England	1846
Territory ceded by Mexico	1848
Alaska purchased	1867
Hawaii annexed; Porto Rico and the Philippines acquired	1898
Insurrection in the Philippines begun	1899
Civil government established in the Philippines	1902
Panama Canal begun by the United States	1904

CHAPTER XIV

THE OUTLOOK

1906

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—This chapter aims to give a working basis for an intelligent study of the problems confronting the American people. It is not necessary that the student attempt to reach a final conclusion upon every one of the questions presented, but it is essential that he gain such an acquaintance with the main facts underlying important questions and with the arguments upon both sides that he can work intelligently for honest and progressive government.

One of the most important advantages of historical study is the acquaintance which it gives with the principles of political action and their practical results, and the interest which it inspires in efforts to raise political ideals and improve political methods. In a sense, then, this chapter is the culmination of the student's entire study of United States history. That study has failed to accomplish one of its chief purposes if it has not aroused a feeling of personal responsibility in government—local, state and national—and unless it leads to active participation in political affairs.

The student should supplement the facts contained in this chapter by reading in contemporary books and magazines, constantly bearing in mind, however, that much that is written is controversial in character and gives but a partial and unfair view of its subject. The reading of such articles should be complemented by an equally careful study of opposing arguments.

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681. The Election of 1904.—The presidential campaign of 1904 was conducted upon issues which, though not entirely new, had become important in comparatively recent times. They were the outgrowth of the events and changes described in the preceding chapter. The Democrats, supported by not a few leading independents,

forced the issue of "Constitutionalism" to the front; they condemned the supposed tendency of President Roosevelt to act beyond his constitutional power in both foreign and domestic affairs and demanded a return to the strict construction of the Constitution; they denounced the Republican policy in the Philippines and demanded that the United States leave the islands as soon as a stable native government could be installed; they exalted the time-honored principle of isolation from the political affairs of foreign nations and belittled the attempts of the administration to interfere with the concerns of other American states; they accused the Republican party of allying itself with large corporate interests and favored a reduction of the tariff as a means of curtailing the power of the trusts, which they claimed had grown strong under the Republican policy of protection. The Republicans upheld the purposes and policies of the administration as they have been previously outlined in these pages.

OLD GLORY
United States flag in 1905.

The contest eventually turned on the personality of the candidates, which emphasized to a peculiar degree the nature of the issues. Alton B. Parker, chief justice of the court of appeals of the State of New York, was nominated by the Democrats for president, with Henry G. Davis of West Virginia as candidate for vice-president.

Parker, though little known beyond his own state, was there highly esteemed for honesty and ability, and in his personality peculiarly typified the conservatism of judgment and action and the reverence for legal limitations which the party platform expounded. President Roosevelt was nominated for a second term by the Republicans, with Senator C. W. Fairbanks of Indiana as candidate for vice-president. In the end, the President's frankness of speech and manner, his fearless honesty and aggressive Americanism won him thousands of friends in all parties and a sweeping victory at the election. Roosevelt and Fairbanks received 336 electoral votes, and Parker and Davis, 140. Roosevelt's popular majority was over 1,742,000, the largest ever received by a presidential candidate.

Present Conditions

682. The American People.—The total population of the United States proper in 1900 was about 76,000,000; its area, about 3,025,600 square miles. Were the inhabitants evenly distributed over its territory, there would be about twenty-five people to each square mile. This shows a density of population much less than that of any other civilized country in the world, being about one-twenty-fourth that of England, one-twenty-first that of Belgium, one-tenth that of Germany, one-eighth that of France and one-half that of European Russia, exclusive of Poland and Finland. The most densely populated

state is Rhode Island, with 318.4 people to the square mile; Massachusetts is second, with 278.5, and Wyoming last, with .6. Texas alone, if populated as densely as England (606 to the square mile), would accommodate a population as large as that of England, France, European Russia and Germany combined.

The population of the United States is made up of representatives of every race and nation in the world. More than one-eighth of the total population, according to the census of 1900, were of foreign birth, and fully one-sixth were of foreign parentage. Owing to this mixture of peoples, the percentage of illiteracy in the United States is somewhat higher than that of Germany, Switzerland, Scotland, Holland, France and England; yet each census shows that it is being reduced. In 1880 it was 17 per cent; in 1890, 13 per cent, and in 1900, 10.7 per cent. Of all the illiterates reported in 1900, 48.2 per cent were colored; that is, less than one-eighth of the population furnished nearly one-half of the illiterates. This is due almost wholly to the absence of adequate rural school facilities in the states having large colored population. Yet, as a whole, the American people are unexcelled in intelligence and energy. They are readers, not only of newspapers and periodicals, but of more substantial literature. Since 1890 the number of public libraries has greatly increased; in many states libraries are now a compulsory adjunct to every school district, while a few states, like Wisconsin and

Minnesota, furnish traveling libraries, by means of which excellent literature is supplied to the most remote rural homes.

But one of the most striking characteristics of the people of the United States is their adaptability, resourcefulness and inventive genius. This is perhaps accounted for in part by the fact that the pioneers, settling in the wilderness with few implements and scanty means, were thrown upon their own resources, compelled to attain their ends by using the implements at hand or by devising new ones. Certainly of the great inventions and discoveries which have revolutionized the industrial and social life of the world, few countries have furnished a greater share.[1] It is but necessary to enumerate a few of the

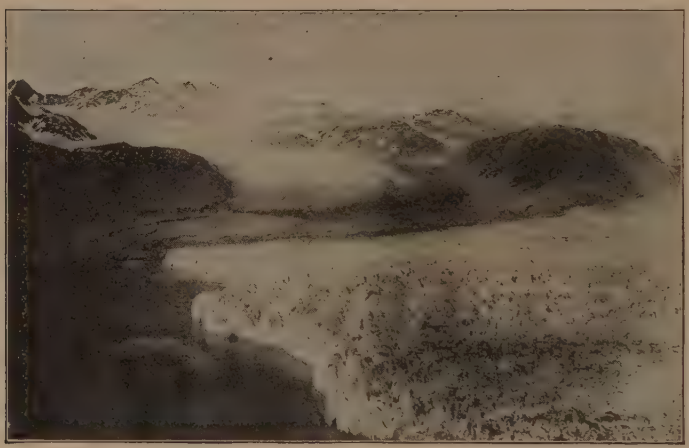
THOMAS ALVA EDISON
Inventor of the phonograph, kinetoscope and incandescent light, and of many improvements upon other electrical instruments.

[1] For three years ending with 1904 the United States government issued 83,725 patents, many of which, though of comparatively minor importance, doubtless will greatly increase the product and lessen the price of manufactured articles.

American inventions to prove the truth of this statement—the cotton gin, the steamboat, the screw propeller, the reaper, the sewing machine, the telegraph, the telephone, the rotary printing press and the incandescent light; of discoveries, the process of preparing India rubber and the use of ether as an anesthetic. Each invention makes another necessary, and each discovery leads to further investigation.

683. Position and Resources.—At the inauguration of President Roosevelt, the domain of the United States extended more than half-way around the world, and in latitude, almost from the Equator to the Arctic Circle. By the acquisition of the Philippines the population of the United States and its possessions was increased to over 84,000,000, making it rank, both in territory and population, fourth among the great nations of the world. The principal part of its domain, the United States itself, has the most advantageous geographical position of all the countries of the world. Its location between the two great oceans, midway between the tropics and the pole, is in the natural pathway of the world's commerce. Its climate is especially fitted for the development of a high type of civilization, being moderate yet of such variety, owing to the vast extent of territory, as to admit of the successful pursuit of all industries suited to the temperate and semi-tropical regions.

The resources of the country are almost unlimited in variety and extent. Mineral fuels, coal and petroleum, so essential to manufacture and transportation, exist in abundance and are widely distributed. Iron ore, sufficient to supply the needs of the world for centuries, is found in close proximity to the deposits of fuel. In 1900 the United States led the world in the production of gold,



MUIR GLACIER, ALASKA

silver, copper and iron, while of lead and aluminum it produced more than enough to supply its own needs. Building stone of the best quality is found in the mountainous regions; clay suitable for brick and tile and an abundance of material easily converted into cement are accessible in nearly all sections of the country.

684. Industry and Commerce.—In agriculture and manufactures the United States is also first among na-

tions. In 1900 United States farms and farm property exceeded twenty and one-half billion dollars in value, and the farm products nearly five billion dollars. The exports of agricultural products amounted in 1903 to $850,000,000. In 1900 the value of manufactured products was more than $13,000,000,000; in 1904 the exports of manufactures alone amounted to $450,000,000, while the export of iron and steel and allied products swelled that total by nearly $121,000,000. If the wealth of the United States in 1900 had been divided equally among its people, each would have received $1235.86, and of money in circulation, $26.94. By September 1, 1905,

THE MINNESOTA

A Pacific freight and passenger steamer, one of the largest ships of its kind afloat.[1]

[1] This ship and its twin, the *Dakota*, ply between Seattle and the Orient. They are the largest vessels ever built in the United States, being 630 feet long, having a capacity of 28,000 tons cargo and 2,000 passengers. On its first trip the *Minnesota* carried its full quota of passengers, besides 70 complete locomotives in parts, several hundred freight cars and other cargo.

the *per capita* circulation of money had increased to $31.40.

The United States contains about one-half the railway mileage of the world, has over 71,000 postoffices, 22,000 newspapers and periodicals, and expends annually more than $157,000,000 for public school salaries. Truly, "The American people are under physical conditions unprecedented in history and unlikely to be repeated unless another new world be discovered." [1]

These vast resources, combined with the energy and adaptability of the American people, have placed the United States in the front rank of commercial nations. Her foreign commerce is exceeded only by that of the United Kingdom and Germany, while her domestic trade is larger than that of any other country. The United States produces four-fifths of the cotton, four-fifths of the grain, one-fourth of the wheat, one-half of the tobacco, one-half of the cattle, one-half of the hogs, one-third of the lumber, one-third of the manufactures, one-third of the coal, one-fourth of the iron ore, one-fourth of the gold and silver and carries on one-fourth of the total internal and international commerce of the world.

685. Political System.—The peculiarities of American political institutions have already been fully described (Sections 324, 325 and 619-621). Their results are plainly to be seen in a growing sense of responsibility in government affairs, a keen interest in the social and polit-

[1] Sparks, *The United States.*

ical problems of the time, an appreciation of the best in the government and society of other nations and a consequent improvement in the character and efficiency of American government. Where, as in the United States, all citizens are also joint sovereigns, abuse of power cannot long endure; old party lines may be obscured, but new ones will be formed upon living issues; old idols may be shattered, but new ones will be raised to represent modern principles and ideals; old heroes will be forgotten, but others will arise, pledged to do the people's will.

Present Problems

With such a foundation as this upon which to build, and with a history filled with the noblest traditions, surely the American people should achieve success with every effort. But they are confronted by problems as serious and complex as ever vexed the minds of any people, upon the solution of which will depend to a great degree their future influence, happiness and prosperity.

686. The Race Problem.—The Civil War, nearly a half-century ago, freed four million negro slaves. Since that time the number of persons of African descent in the United States has more than doubled and at the last census formed one-ninth of the total population. Were the negroes evenly distributed over the territory of the United States, the condition would not be so perilous, for under favorable conditions, when guided and directed

by men of a higher race, the negroes have shown a capacity for marked improvement mentally, morally and materially, and have produced men of the highest character and ability, such as Booker T. Washington[1] and Frederick Douglas;[2] but when left to their own devices they have almost invariably become shiftless and immoral, possessed of neither ability nor ambition. This is their condition in a large part of the South. In South Carolina and Mississippi the negroes largely outnumber the whites, and everywhere they constitute a large proportion of the population. Reconstruction placed the ballot in their hands before they were taught its proper use and thus forced upon the white people of the South a political condition from which they have ever since been trying to free themselves. Most of the former slave states have adopted constitutions establishing such educational and property qualifications for voters as to exclude nearly all negroes from suffrage.

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[1] Booker T. Washington was born a plantation slave in Virginia. After the Civil War, through his own ambition and effort and at the cost of much hardship, he studied for three years at Hampton Institute and some years later became an instructor in the same school. In 1881, on account of his previous success as instructor, he was appointed to organize a colored normal school at Tuskegee, Ala., which had been established by the state legislature. The institution opened in two shabby buildings with one teacher and thirty scholars, but the enrollment in 1905 was more than fifteen hundred, and the school owned property valued at $1,635,000. Its object is to furnish such mental, moral and manual training as to fit its students to become leaders of their people. Washington has become noted for his ability as a public speaker.

[2] Frederick Douglas was reared as a slave on a Maryland plantation until he was twenty-one years old. At that time he escaped to the North and there gained a reputation as a powerful public speaker in behalf of the anti-slavery cause. His reputation caused him to be invited to England, where he also attained success. For many years he edited an anti-slavery paper in New York State and after the war took an active part in national politics.

Offsetting in a degree these measures, which seem to open the way for injustice and oppression, the Southern whites have done much to educate the black man, to improve his material condition and to fit him for intelligent citizenship. His advance, though constant, has been slow,[1] and his relation to his white neighbors still constitutes a serious problem, demanding for its solution the combined patience, magnanimity and tact of the whole country.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
The foremost living American negro.

687. The Growth of Cities.—Another problem deserving the careful consideration of thoughtful men is the unprecedented development of the cities of the United States. In 1790 there were in the country but six cities

[1] The percentage of illiteracy among the negroes has been reduced since the Civil War from 95 to 45 per cent; in 1900 549,642 farms were occupied by negroes, of which 22 per cent were owned by their occupants. On the other hand, crime has vastly increased among them. In the South, between 1880 and 1890, the increase of negro prisoners was twenty-nine in every ten thousand of negro population, while the increase of white prisoners was but eight per ten thousand of white population. This is doubtless in part accounted for by the fact that somewhat greater efforts are made to detect and convict negro offenders than whites guilty of the same offenses.

with a population of eight thousand or more, and the total urban population was but 3.4 per cent of the whole. Each census has shown an increase in this proportion, until in 1900 the urban population of the country was 33.1 per cent, or nearly one-third of the total. In five

STREET SCENE, SEATTLE

Looking north on First Avenue from Pioneer Place. Seattle's population in 1870 was 1,107; in 1880, 3,533; in 1890, 42,837; in 1900, 80,671. The city is now one of the most important points on the Pacific coast.

states—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey—more than one-half, and in Rhode Island more than three-fourths, of the people live in cities. New York, with about four million inhabitants, is, excepting London, the largest city in the world, while Chicago has about two million, Philadelphia almost a

million and a half, and Baltimore, Boston and Saint Louis each more than a half-million. In 1900 there were 161 cities having a population of twenty-five thousand or more. Of these, nineteen had over two hundred thousand each, and as many others had more than one hundred thousand each.

But a positive peril lurks in this condition and tendency. The city is the meeting-place of the extremes of poverty and wealth; a large majority of its people are compelled by ruthless competition to work for small wages and to adopt a low standard of living. Many are condemned to a life of toil and degradation that is but little better than slavery. The hopelessness and ignorance which breed vice, and the wealth which supports it, are both present, and the great city becomes the source of vicious and criminal influences which lower the moral standard of the whole community.

688. Fraud in Government.—"There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States."[1] So wrote one of the keenest political observers and statesmen of our time, referring to the common evidence of corruption and fraud triumphant over purity and civic duty; administration characterized by extravagance and poor public service; franchises sold to large corporations on such terms as to enable them to amass great wealth at public expense; bribery and blackmail, the common tools of political lead-

[1] Bryce, *The American Commonwealth.*

ers. These evils are scarcely less pronounced in state and national government than in the municipality, but for several reasons arise more easily in cities than elsewhere. The great city offers an especially inviting field to the demagogue. There he finds friends and helpers among the idle and vicious classes, willing for small consideration to do his bidding, whether right or wrong. He

SKY LINE, NEW YORK CITY
As viewed from the Hudson River.

finds a large body of foreigners, many of them admitted to citizenship and to suffrage before they understand the first principles of American institutions. They naturally become the grateful followers of party bosses who through rash promises or by real charity gain their confidence.

It is not remarkable, if such a condition can exist in the political precinct nearest to the great mass of voters, that it should find its way into the administration of larger and larger political divisions. So, throughout the

whole system of legislation and administration, the twin evils of corruption and extravagance prevail. They flourish by reason of three conditions: (1) the indifference of the intelligent and respectable voters to their duties as citizens—their neglect of attendance at caucus, convention and election; (2) the diligence of the worst element of the people in political affairs; (3) the tendency, born of vicious instruction and example of many citizens to blindly follow party leaders.

JOSEPH W. FOLK

As district attorney of the County of St. Louis he vigorously prosecuted boodlers in the common council, and for his fearlessness and honesty was elected governor of the state in 1904.

Obviously the remedies for existing conditions must strike at the root of the evils. (1) Citizens who truly desire the moral and political progress of the community and who have the intelligence and training to lead in such progress, must perform their political duty. (2) They must study public questions, scrutinize the character and qualifications of candidates for their suffrage and cast their ballots for those men and measures whose

triumph would be a step toward higher political ideals and achievements. In this way alone can they offset or overthrow the vicious influence of charlatans and demagogues. (3) They must labor to free the mass of voters from the bonds of ignorance and blind party loyalty; to make them realize the value of their own opinions and act upon them.

Within the last few years there has been evident a general awakening, national in scope, a dawning appreciation of the cause of the present deplorable conditions and a growing determination to find the true remedy and to apply it vigorously. Important results have already followed. Though the fight is not yet won, the value, even the necessity, of standing for the public interest is gaining recognition from even the most unscrupulous politicians. Sufficient progress has already been made to encourage a continuance of strong united effort in the same direction.

689. Immigration.—The problem of immigration is closely associated with that of political reform. Previous to the Civil War only about a million aliens had come into the country, but after 1870 immigrants sought America by the thousands and by 1900 had added nearly 20,000,000 people of foreign extraction to its population. In 1903 alone the number of immigrants was 857,000; in 1904, 813,000, and in 1905, over a million. At first a majority came from the British Isles, Germany and the Scandinavian peninsula; they were intelligent, enter-

prising and adaptive and constituted a desirable addition to the population. Many of them took up land in the West and were active in the early development of the great agricultural states of Iowa, Minnesota and the Dakotas. In recent years a large proportion of immigrants have come from the countries of southern Europe, those from Austria-Hungary and Italy predominating. These people usually congregate in the great cities, particularly New York and Chicago, where they settle in communities, maintain the customs and language of their fatherland and for at least a generation remain impervious to American influences. They become the tools of demagogues and are one of the agencies upon which the corruptionist in government relies. The rapid influx of this class of immigrants constitutes a menace to

A STREET IN CHINATOWN
A typical scene in the Chinese quarter of San Francisco.

the standard which American life and civilization has maintained.

690. Trusts.—The formation of gigantic combinations of capital for the conduct of every line of modern industry has characterized to an unparalleled extent the period of prosperity beginning in 1896. The great railroads were the leaders; between 1898 and 1900 over 45,000 miles of road were combined under eight systems, and since that time these combinations have been extended and others have been formed. In 1901 the United States Steel Corporation was organized with a capital of $1,100,000,000; in the following year the International Mercantile Marine Company united under one management several important trans-Atlantic steamship lines. The United States Shipbuilding Company followed, but soon collapsed. The great packing firms combined to prevent competition in the buying of live stock and to maintain a uniform price on meat products. The sugar trust[1] was formed to control the refinement and sale of sugar in the United States. There are many others of scarcely less importance; by 1905 the output of all the leading industries of the country except, perhaps, agriculture, was largely regulated by combinations representing the capital interested.

It is evident that this tendency to combination is not

[1] The name *trust* which has been applied to these organizations arose from the method by which the first ones were formed. The several constituent corporations assigned part of their stock to a board of *trustees*, who thereafter managed all the properties.

an unmixed evil. It has been justly asserted that by regulating production to conform to the natural demand, the trusts exert a powerful influence in preventing panics and periods of depression, and that they keep factories running full time and labor steadily employed. Certainly they save vast expense in production and transportation, utilize much material that otherwise would be wasted and secure a larger output with the capital invested than is possible when independent concerns compete in the same industry.

There are, however, numerous dangers in the formation of trusts, especially when not subject to strict regulation by some competent authority.

(1) It is dangerous for any private party to possess the power to maintain the price or quality of a product, when the consumer has not the resource of buying from a competing producer.

(2) It is dangerous for a body of men, no one of whom is personally responsible, to hold such great power over the lives and fortunes of men as is implied in the complete control of wages, hours and conditions of employment.

(3) The necessary result of the consolidation of producing concerns is cruel hardship to many other independent producers, who either must sell out to the trust or must engage in other enterprises, and in either case must suffer serious loss.

(4) Trusts, by their immense power, are enabled to evade the laws, to corrupt legislatures, to defy the courts

and thus to exert a demoralizing influence upon politics and society.

In recent years there has been a noticeable rise in the strength of the public protests against the abuse by corporations of the power that lies in their hands. This found its first expression, even before the most alarming developments of industrial combination had appeared, in the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, giving to a national commission certain powers over railroads, and in the Sherman "anti-trust law" of 1890, which made all "combinations in restraint of trade" illegal and subject to prosecution by the United States. This law was found to have many weaknesses which later Federal legislation has sought to eradicate. States have also paid increasing attention to the problem, but have found it difficult to control the action of corporations chartered in other states and transacting interstate business. In the hope

ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE
United States senator, formerly governor of Wisconsin; a leader of the forces working for legislation restricting the political power of corporations.

of establishing freer and fairer relations between the producer, the carrier and the consumer, special efforts have recently been directed against the abuse of power by railroad companies.

691. Labor Versus Capital. — The combination of capital led naturally to a more complete organization of labor for the purpose of so controlling this essential force in production as to compel employers to consider the rights and heed the demands of their workmen. Thus arose the American Federation of Labor, a national organization consisting of workmen engaged in nearly all trades. It follows from the right of workmen to use their abilities in the direction in which they may most benefit themselves, that they also have the right to "strike," that is, to quit their work either individually or by general agreement, if by that means they can secure for themselves, without material injury to others, more favorable conditions for labor. This resource has been often accepted, and between 1881 and 1900 there were nearly twenty-three thousand of these so-called "strikes" in the United States.

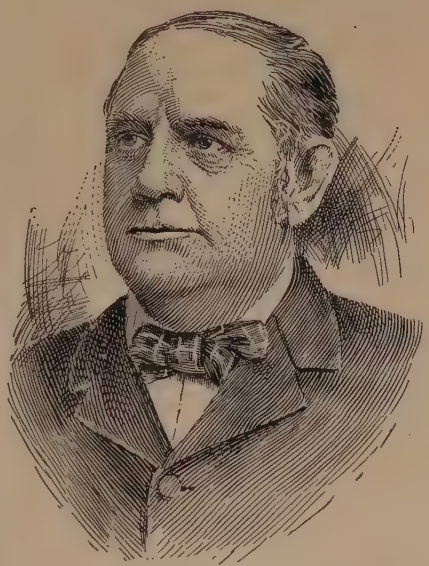
In 1902 occurred one of the most important strikes in American industrial history. In May of that year the miners in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania "struck" for the purpose of gaining an increase in wages, a reduction in the hours of labor and a recognition of the union organization. For more than five months nearly 147,000 workmen were idle, all the mines of the

region were practically closed, and there was a famine in fuel which paralyzed industry and caused suffering and death throughout the land. President Roosevelt finally intervened and persuaded the two parties to submit their case to arbitration and thus ended the controversy.

In these and in previous strikes the riotous element among the workmen gained more and more influence as time passed and suffering increased. At the same time the radical party, favoring a life-and-death contest with organized labor, prevailed more and more completely in the councils of the employers. Consequently, violence and intemperance played a conspicuous part and the real interests of the workmen and of the community were lost to view. Were labor and capital the only interests involved, the peril would not be so great; but when, by a strike of teamsters in Chicago the price of meats throughout the country is doubled, or by a strike in Pennsylvania the price of coal advances from 100 to 150 per cent; when, by the word of one man or a small group of men, the price of a common commodity can be raised or lowered and the wages of thousands of workmen determined, the immediate welfare of the community is involved.

Three movements looking toward the removal of this strife between capital and labor have recently gained strength in the United States. One teaches that the interests of capital and labor are identical; that they are both essential and equally important factors in produc-

tion; that neither gains but both lose in a contest between them, and what injures one injures the other. The remedy proposed is arbitration, the submission of differences to a disinterested tribunal, whose decision would be binding upon both. Another party would make workmen "class-conscious." It declares that to the laborer belongs the whole product of labor; that capital is an unnecessary factor of production and that the interests of the capitalist and laboring classes therefore must be diametrically opposed. Its remedy for existing conditions is the socialization of industry —the ownership and management of all industry by society as a whole, in the interests of all society. Under such conditions, it is claimed, there would be no idle capitalist class and there would be no ruthless competition among laborers; for all who desired would receive work from the State and would be entitled to reward in proportion



MARCUS A. HANNA
A close friend and adviser of President McKinley, and United States senator for Ohio. In his last years he was devoted to the cause of industrial arbitration.

to their labor. Between these two views is a third, which, avoiding theoretical arguments as to the economic relation of capital and labor and basing its proposals upon present conditions, urges *coöperation* between labor and capital and the division of profits between them, as the best remedy for present ills.

692. Prodigality. — The abundant resources of the American people have made them wasteful, both as individuals and as a nation. It has been truly said that many an American family throws away what the family of a French peasant would consider ample for its support. Fifty years ago numerous herds of buffalo and mountain sheep were to be seen upon the plains and mountains of the West. Today they are practically exterminated. The wanton destruction of forests and other natural resources is also a mortgage on the country's future which coming generations may find it difficult to discharge.

693. Other Problems.—There are many other problems which can be solved only by the untiring and united effort of all good citizens. Such are, (1) the *temperance* question—how to save weak men from unnatural passions, while allowing strong men a necessary and desirable liberty of conduct; (2) the question of *public charities*—how to lift the poor and needy out of the slums and give them air, sunshine and wholesome surroundings, without encouraging idleness and improvidence; (3) the question of *taxation*—how to secure an adequate public revenue without bearing too heavily on production,

and with justice to rich and poor alike; (4) the question of *natural monopolies*—how to secure adequate public service, especially transportation, light and water in municipalities, without increasing the present perils of corruption, fraud and extravagance.

FRANCES E. WILLARD
Founder of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; a world-famed leader in the movement against the liquor traffic.

694. Conclusion.—Although as a nation the United States has intricate problems to solve and great obstacles to overcome, there is no reason for fear that it will fail. The period of industrial and social unrest with which the country began the twentieth century disclosed the awakening of the people to their conditions and duties. The great problems discussed above, as well as those of lesser import, are attracting attention. The government is protecting the national domain from the hands of the despoiler; by creating forest and game preserves, it is saving its resources; by undertaking vast irrigation schemes, it is converting millions of acres of desert into fertile

fields. Greater effort to educate the negro is being made, and both North and South are united in the work. Great strides have been taken in the reform of municipal government; voters' leagues are canvassing the fitness of candidates for office, and through their recommendations are assisting the voters to free themselves from the control of political machines; the standard of state and national legislatures is being raised, and the influence of the "lobby"[1] is growing less. Restrictions are being placed upon immigration. The people are demanding more complete control of corporations and the institution of methods to assist capital and labor to work in peace. Those who have amassed great fortunes are using them more and more for the benefit of the people—in the building of libraries, in the endowment of technical schools, colleges and universities, and in the establishment of museums and places of amusement.

The public conscience is being quickened; public opinion is year by year assuming a broader, saner, healthier tone. The Americans are gradually emerging from the period of materialism in which they have been living, to the consideration of higher aspects of life. More attention is being given to those forces which tend to the building of character and less to those whose purpose is

[1] A word used in the United States to denote those persons who frequent legislative halls and seek to influence legislation; it is derived from the common name of the vestibule of legislative chambers, where the "lobbyists" are wont to congregate.

simply the accumulation of wealth and world power. At the opening of the twentieth century they were freer, happier, more prosperous and more contented than ever before. As the result of a century of silent revolution, they had emerged from provincialism into nationality, with a broader outlook and higher aspirations.

"It is not in a splendid government supported by aristocratic establishments that people will find happiness, or their liberties, protection; but in a plain system void of pomp—protecting all and granting favors to none—dispensing its blessings like the dews of heaven, unseen and unfelt save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce. It is such a government that our people require—such a one only in which our states may reign for ages to come, united, prosperous and free."

QUESTIONS

State briefly the principal issues in each of the following elections, and the result of each: 1884, 1888, 1892, 1896, 1900, 1904.

What characteristics of the American people have been foremost in promoting their industrial, intellectual and political progress?

What nation has the lowest percentage of illiteracy? What reason can you give therefor? Why is the percentage of illiteracy in the United States higher than in Germany or England?

Name the five American inventions which, in your opinion, have exerted the greatest influence upon the world. Justify your conclusion by showing how each has transformed social or industrial life. Tell how any of them has affected politics.

Why is the geographical position of the United States especially advantageous?

What nation ranks first in manufacturing? In agriculture? Why?

Tell in a few sentences what each of the following is; where it is especially important; why it is important; if an evil, how, in your opinion, it may be most easily and effectively remedied: Booker T. Washington; illiteracy of the negro; growth of cities in the United States; immigration; trusts; strikes; socialism; industrial arbitration; industrial coöperation.

REFERENCES

In connection with the present chapter, the student may consult with profit any of the books mentioned in the references for chs. xi and xiii; also, in the Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics and Sociology, the following: Jane Addams's *Democracy and Social Ethics*, Wilcox's *The American City*. In the Library of Economics and Politics, see Warner's *American Charities*, Newell's *Irrigation in the United States*, Ely's *The Coming City*, *Labor Movements in America*, *Problems of Today*, *Socialism and Social Reform* and *Equitable Taxation*. Upon other special topics, consult Brandenburg's *Imported Americans*, a study of the immigration problem; Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk*, a study of the negro problem from the view point of the educated negro; *The Negro Problem*, also by representative American negroes; Page's *The Negro*, a discussion of the question from the standpoint of a Southern white, and Booker T. Washington's *The Future of the American Negro*; *Organized Labor and Capital*, including four lectures upon the various phases of the problem; Riis's *The Children of the Poor* and *How the Other Half Lives*, two suggestive books upon the condition of the lowest classes in a great city; Steffen's *The Shame of the Cities*, including a series of articles upon municipal government in the great American cities.

DATES TO BE REMEMBERED

1860 ..... Secession of South Carolina
1861 ... Fall of Fort Sumter; organization of Confederacy; first transcontinental telegraph line completed
1862 ..... First fight of ironclads; Peninsula campaign; Shiloh; Antietam; Fredericksburg
1863 .... Proclamation of Emancipation; Chancellorsville; Gettysburg; Vicksburg; Chattanooga
1864 ..... Grant's Virginia campaign: Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor; Sherman's March to the Sea; Nashville; Mobile Bay
1865 ..... End of Civil War; assassination of Lincoln; ratification of Thirteenth Amendment
1866 ..... First successful Atlantic cable laid
1867 ..... Congressional reconstruction begun
1868 ..... Impeachment of President Johnson; Fourteenth Amendment ratified
1870 ..... Ratification of Fifteenth Amendment
1876 ..... Election of Hayes; end of reconstruction; Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia
1879 ..... Resumption of specie payments begun
1893 ..... World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago
1895 ..... Venezuelan controversy with England
1898 .. Spanish-American War; acquisition of Philippines; beginning of colonial expansion
1902 ..... Republic of Cuba established

NATIONAL CAPITOL, WASHINGTON

One of the most beautiful and imposing buildings in the world. Begun in 1790; completed in 1811; destroyed by the British in 1814; many times rebuilt and enlarged, at a total cost of nearly $15,000,000.

METHODS IN HISTORY
WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO
UNITED STATES HISTORY

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BY

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I. Purposes in Teaching History

1. Introduction.—The teacher who views his work intelligently is anxious to justify, to himself if not to others, every part of the course of study and every means that he uses to make his teaching effective. In the case of the "three R's," the purposes of which seem to be eminently practical, this justification is comparatively easy; but with history, the case is somewhat different. It is difficult to show that the study of history is directly connected with the business of getting a living. Consequently, he who would explain the value of this subject must deal with purposes that are less tangible or "practical" and more purely intellectual.

2. Imparting Information.—Let us begin with a very evident purpose of teaching history, that of imparting information. We have as our subject matter the most important facts in a country's career. To know these

is to be "well-informed"—an object worthy the ambition of every boy and girl. Americans esteem themselves an intelligent people, in contrast with the ignorant and consequently the degraded peoples of some other countries. Now, one element in the equipment of an intelligent person is knowledge of his country's history. The public speaker, whether on the platform or in the pulpit, refers to its events to illustrate and enforce the argument he is making. The newspaper contains every day some allusion to American history; writers in magazines and books constantly depend upon it for material. These facts are evidence that intelligent people are universally supposed to possess a fund of information in this field. When boys and girls begin the study of history, therefore, they are entering the company of "the best people"; they are taking a step upward, rising to an equal station with the most intelligent, most esteemed and most influential men and women in all communities.

3. Stimulating Patriotism. — A second reason for teaching the facts of history is to arouse the patriotism of pupils. What is our country? Does it consist solely of the tangible things about us—the land and its people, with all that has been constructed for purposes of business, comfort and pleasure? Or is there in our conception of "the United States," for instance, an intangible element without which these things could never exist—the memory of great trials endured, of great deeds accom-

plished? Love of country and pride in it are aroused not only by the physical possessions that we call ours, but even more by the knowledge that millions before us have labored and sacrificed to make these possible.

There is a kind of false patriotism which spends its force in boasting; which attributes to the United States and its people all that is good and noble and denies to others the same high qualities; which finds our country right in every controversy, or which falls back upon the cry, "my country, right or wrong." Unfortunately, this type of patriotism not infrequently results from the study of history in the common schools. We shall agree, however, that an intelligent study of American history will not yield such results. A full appreciation of our country's history will arouse a deeper feeling of love for it than that which is satisfied by the loud and reckless boast, will reveal both the strength and the weakness of American character, will give to the student that most desirable quality, willingness to learn from the history of other peoples, and will aid him in distinguishing between the false and the true in national policy.

There is a distinction which should be constantly remembered by the teacher and inculcated in the minds of pupils, between what may be designated as "fighting patriotism" and "civic patriotism." Nothing is easier than arousing the martial spirit, the inborn love of fighting, among any people; the pomp and display of armies appeals strongly to all men. It is entirely unnecessary.

to expend effort in school in the cultivation of patriotism in this form. But there are overwhelming facts to prove that civic patriotism does not flourish as it should among us. The exercise of this type of patriotism ordinarily calls for little display and brings less honor; it involves inconvenience and sacrifice. We find it among those citizens who are faithful in the discharge of their public duties—in their political parties they work to have good men placed in nomination; at the polls they vote for public and not for private or party interests; when called upon to hold office they are honest and zealous for the public welfare. These patriots do not shirk jury duty; they encourage officers in the enforcement of the law; they support heartily all means of public education and enlightenment.

One of the best means of arousing this high and pure type of patriotism will be found in the teaching of history. Here the pupil may learn what true freedom means and what it has cost; he may come to realize that his life is a part of that great stream of human effort which ever reaches towards better things. Such conceptions will give him the best possible incentive to exert himself, in his daily contact with other citizens, to keep our standards of public life high and to preserve our institutions from corruption.

4. Developing the Mind.—The third purpose in the teaching of history is the development of the mind in certain directions. In this respect history is not different

from other studies. By education the mind acquires strength, agility and breadth. These qualities may be gained out of school, as the ability of many "self-made" men testifies; but most young persons would never acquire them without the aid of the school. The uneducated mind is capable of grasping and holding but few ideas; the study of history gives training in the acquisition of many facts and in the grouping of details into general statements. The man who is uneducated has his mental horizon bounded by the facts of his own and his neighbor's experience; in history he may study the experiences of past generations and thus have his life broadened and enriched by views of other scenes. Here, too, he has opportunity to compare one set of facts with another, and this calls for the exercise of judgment. The man of narrow views lacks the power of critical judgment; he is consequently unable to gain the confidence of his fellows, and he is given no opportunity to assume positions of responsibility in the business world or in social relations. To put the matter in its most general form, the study of history is one means by which the world and humanity are revealed to the young mind.

5. Influencing Reading.—One of the best results of the study of history to the student should be the ability to enjoy the books that tell our country's story. Bright boys and girls need little encouragement to read interesting stories—the great problem is, what shall they read? If the history class can lead them to the best books, it may

avert the disaster that follows when trashy and unclean literature falls within their reach. It is believed that stories of true heroes and heroines and descriptions of noble deeds will appeal more strongly to healthy minds than the accounts of mock heroes and unreal characters that figure in cheap literature.

II. The Use of the Text-Book

6. The Proper Conception of the Text-Book.—There is such a thing as worship of the text-book among teachers, and there is also such a thing as underestimation of its value. The true view lies between these extremes. In the first place, the teacher must recognize the fact that the book is not the history — the history was human experience. Secondly, he must know that the text does not contain all of the story. And, finally, he may discover that some of the things told in the text-book are not true. With these propositions as a basis, the teacher may proceed to use the text as an aid to his pupils in learning some of the facts concerning our past history and in discovering more than it contains concerning these facts. The text-book is most useful because it holds within small compass, where they may be seen at a glance and hence more readily grasped by the mind, groups of important facts. Then, too, the statements of these facts are usually well-organized in paragraphs and chapters; thus the student may easily see their relations and so better comprehend their significance.

Let us cast aside at once the ancient conception that the body of statements contained in the text-book is to be transferred to the pupil's mind by mechanical effort of memory. When the pupil lives through a year on the farm, in the store or in the work-shop, he acquires *a body of information concerning what happened* during that time. Now, such a body of information is precisely what he should obtain from the study of history; only it will come to him in the words of historical writers and of the teacher, instead of through his own experience. Whether the pupil will remember "what happened," that is, the facts of history, will depend primarily upon his interest in them; his interest in the events will depend upon his understanding of them and upon the degree to which they become a part of his mental and emotional experience.

7. The Natural Sequence in Learning.—We have, therefore, this necessary sequence in the process of acquiring the subject matter of history: (1) to understand and appreciate what happened; (2) to become interested in it; (3) to remember it. As this is the proper logical order in the learning of history, the teacher's plans must all conform to it, if he would be successful.

8. Assignment of the Lesson. —The importance of careful assignment is not generally understood; many teachers do not realize that half the troubles of the recitation can be avoided if the assignment is properly made. This involves (1) a statement showing which are the

important and which the unimportant parts of the lesson; (2) a warning concerning the most difficult passages —those to which the pupil should give careful attention; (3) questions about which the pupil is to think when studying his lesson; (4) the suggestion of a plan of organ-

UNITED STATES MINT, PHILADELPHIA
Built in 1829 to replace the first mint, opened in 1793. The building here shown was torn down in 1901, after the erection of a much finer structure by the Government.

izing the facts of the lesson. Let us illustrate some of these points. The following paragraph may be included in the lesson assigned:

"By the advice of Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, Congress agreed to assume the debts contracted by the states during the Revolution, and to pay the national debt in full. To provide funds, taxes were levied on imported goods and the distillation of

spirits. A mint and a national bank were established at Philadelphia. By these measures the credit of the government was put upon a firm basis.''

The teacher should warn his class to consider carefully the meaning of the phrase, "assume the debts contracted by the states." Why were they contracted? Why should the national government assume them? Who contracted the national debt? What is the meaning of "distillation"? Do we have such taxes as these today? These measures may be more readily held in mind if pupils are told to make a list of them under the head, *Hamilton's financial measures.*

The class studying this paragraph with such questions in mind is much less apt to memorize words without understanding them than if the questions had not been asked. Furthermore, some of the questions are difficult, and if they are sprung suddenly upon the class they will discourage pupils who are unable to answer offhand. A great advantage will also be gained if, by the daily application of this plan of assignment, the pupils are led to acquire a questioning habit of study. They will then think of more questions for themselves, and if properly encouraged they will add life, interest and great profit to the recitation by asking thoughtful questions.

The assignment of the lesson in the way suggested above takes time, but it is time saved instead of lost. This plan aids in bringing teacher and pupil to a common understanding as to the subject matter to be learned and as to the exact requirements of the recitation.

Much valuable time is wasted in recitation simply because teacher and pupils have not previously agreed upon the relative importance of different parts of the lesson.

9. The Recitation from the Text.—If the lesson has been properly assigned, the character of the recitation has been to a great extent determined. The pupil who has studied his lesson with some of the questions stated above in mind will probably not attempt a parrot-like repetition of the words of the text. If he does, the sooner he is interrupted by the teacher, the better. The teacher's main purpose in the recitation should be to ascertain whether the pupils understand what they are talking about—not, whether they remember. It may be asserted that if sufficient effort has been put forth to fully understand and appreciate the paragraph quoted above, then its principal statements will be remembered. Certainly, to remember without understanding them would be a positive injury to the pupil.

The teacher may ascertain what the pupil knows by either of two methods. He may ask many questions, or he may direct the pupil to "tell about" Hamilton's financial measures. No argument is required to show the superiority of the latter, or topic, form of recitation. If it is the teacher's habit to call for such a recitation, the pupil will prepare for it; that is, he will master the paragraph as a whole, and will expect to make a continuous story of it when he recites.

It should be noted that after a topical recitation has

been concluded the teacher will in most cases find it necessary to ask some pointed questions, in order to assure himself that the pupil understands the bearings of the facts that have been recited. Such questions will be especially necessary if in his recitation the pupil has used the language of the text-book.

When this test of knowledge has been concluded, the interesting and profitable *why* questions will come—the most valuable part of the recitation. Here the pupil's interest may be aroused, boys especially being alert to find reasons for events and to trace results from them. Here, too, the teacher has opportunity to instruct the class upon points not mentioned in the text. He may ask questions concerning matters previously studied that are related to the day's lesson. Finally, he may make reference to conditions existing at the present time that serve to illustrate the statements in the lesson.

It is evident that, pursuing this method, the teacher is not so much *hearing* as *teaching* the lesson. He carefully corrects misconceptions; he asks for the repetition of difficult points by several members of the class; he stimulates thought and interest by the form of his questions, and he brings freshness and reality into the recitation by illustration and amplification of the dry statements of fact in the text-book.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the character of the recitation is determined by the method of the teacher in questioning, and this in turn can be deter-

mined by the directions given to pupils when the assignment is made. If the lesson is assigned as "from page 16 to page 22," the pupil has no clew to the demands that will be made upon him in the recitation, except such a guess as his experience will enable him to make. If, on the other hand, he is plainly shown the main features of the task before him, his work will be intelligent and therefore more satisfactory.

10. Study in the Recitation.—To some teachers the opening of a text-book during the recitation seems a desecration. But what is a more sensible or economical method of settling a dispute or clearing up a difficult point? In this way, too, pupils may be shown how they should have studied a lesson over which they have floundered. Resort to this expedient is less apt to be necessary, however, when the lesson has been properly assigned.

III. The Use of Outlines

11. The Relations of Events.—Every person of mature years recognizes that there are in his own life-history certain stages more or less clearly defined. Considering, in turn, infancy, childhood, youth and early manhood or womanhood, he finds that each period is marked by certain dominant influences and motives.

In the same way, the events in the life of a people and the changing influences that prevail over it from time to time enable the student to find the periods or stages of progress in a nation's history. Within any one period

the principal events of national history are closely related —otherwise they would not constitute a period. To learn the history of a period, then, the student must grasp simultaneously (1) the facts concerning its main events and (2) the facts concerning the inter-relations of these events. If he learns merely the first and omits the second, he has acquired a body of facts which may constitute information (more or less useful), but which are not history in a true sense. Moreover, for most students, knowledge concerning the inter-relations of events is of great assistance in the effort to comprehend the truth concerning the events themselves. Persons of strong mechanical memory can readily learn isolated facts and can thus give an appearance of possessing considerable knowledge. But the great majority of students grasp and hold historical information in proportion as they see the relations between its parts.

12. Characteristics of a Good Outline.—We have stated above a simple explanation of the principle upon which the history is divided into periods; and it is upon the basis of this principle that the construction of outlines must proceed. Enough has been said to render tolerably clear the following propositions:

1. No outline can be properly made until we see the relations of the facts that are involved.

2. The completed outline should aid in the grasping of these relations; but the outline should be the result and not the source of this knowledge.

3. It follows, therefore, that an outline serves its best use *while it is being made.*

4. The outline is an aid to memory and is helpful in reviews; but if it is memorized without being first understood the result is positively harmful to the student. He has acquired nothing that is of value, and may deceive both himself and the teacher as to the extent of his real knowledge.

13. Typical Outlines. — (1) A good example of an outline based upon chronological order is found in a simple list of explorers. The outline that follows presents not only the chronological list, but also a subdivision into groups according to nationality.

	SPANISH	ENGLISH	FRENCH
1500	Columbus 1492 1502 De Leon 1513 Balboa Cortez 1520 Magellan De Soto 1540 Coronado	Cabot 1497	Verrazano 1524 Cartier 1534
1550			
1600	Menendez 1565 St. Augustine, Fla.	Hawkins 1560 Frobisher 1576 Drake 1577 Gilbert's and Raleigh's colonies 1578 1590 1591	Huguenot colonies
1650		Jamestown, Va. 1607	Champlain 1603 Quebec 1608 Nicolet 1634 1635
1700			Marquette and Joliet 1673 La Salle 1679 1681

Another feature of this outline is the exact division of the space according to half-centuries. This enables pupils to grasp certain relations that could not be made visible to the eye in any other arrangement. In the Spanish column, for instance, it shows an apparent cessation of exploring activity after the date 1565. In the English column it reveals the long period (sixty years or more) of inactivity in American exploration. Again, in the French column, there is a gap of a like number of years at a different time. The outline should be of distinct assistance in impressing upon pupils' minds the dates when these explorers did their work. Drake's voyages are plainly seen to have been made three-quarters of a century after the time of Cabot's voyage. It may be truly said that this fact is of little importance unless a reason for it can be found. Here, then, may be displayed one of the chief purposes of history teaching. Will the making of this outline showing the gap in the history of English exploration arouse the pupil's curiosity? Will he be impelled to ask questions concerning the reasons involved? Will the teacher join with the class in searching for an explanation?

The form of chart under discussion aids in impressing the idea that two or more series of events happened during the same period of time, instead of in chronological succession. The text-book discussion treats events according to their logical grouping rather than according to the strict chronological order of their occurrence. Thus,

pupils are apt to get the idea that after all the thirteen English colonies had been settled the French began their explorations. The outline given above will show that Champlain and John Smith were contemporaneous; that while the former was searching for a way to the Pacific along the waterways of Canada, the latter was pushing up the streams of Virginia intent upon the same discovery. An addition to the chart would make it include the name of Henry Hudson, whose voyage up the Hudson River was impelled by the same motive and occurred at the same time.

(2) Another form of outline, ignoring chronology entirely and presenting merely a comparison of conditions that existed at a certain time, is illustrated below. In this classification of the English colonies, we compare the types of colonial government existing in the year 1760.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT	GOVERNOR	ASSEMBLY
1. Royal—New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia.	Appointed by the king.	Elected by the people.
2. Proprietary— Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland.	Appointed by the proprietor.	Elected by the people.
3. Republican — Rhode Island, Connecticut.	Elected by the people.	Elected by the people.

This outline will be made by pupils after a study of the colonies separately. It shows the important points of difference and the striking point of similarity in their governments.

(3) A third type of outline is intended to show, by grouping certain facts together, how an idea or an institution has developed. The progress of the spirit of union during the Revolutionary period may be outlined in this form:

1. The Albany Congress, 1754.
2. The Stamp Act Congress, 1765.
3. Non-importation agreements, 1767.
4. Committees of Correspondence, 1772-1773.
5. First Continental Congress, 1774.
6. Second Continental Congress, 1775-1781.
7. Articles of Confederation, 1781-1789.
8. The Constitution, 1789.

Of course, this outline is a mere skeleton, containing but a few of the items that might be included under this head. Its purpose is to emphasize the inter-relations that exist between certain events. It is one of the most important facts in American history that the establishment of a single strong central government was the result of a gradual process that included many painful steps. The history of the adoption of the Constitution loses all its significance if this fact is neglected.

(4) The recurrence of a fundamental idea in different forms or under different conditions may frequently be shown in an outline, with great profit to the pupil. For instance, the grouping of Daniel Boone with Lewis and Clark displays the process of pioneer discovery more clearly than if these explorers were treated without reference to each other. Likewise, the military expedition of George Rogers Clark may be grouped with that of

Fremont as fundamentally similar. The following events also belong logically together:

1. Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 1798.
2. Hartford Convention, 1814.
3. South Carolina Nullification Act, 1832.
4. Acts of Secession, 1860-1861.

In the history of the westward movement of population the following topics stand in close logical relation:

1. The Cumberland Road.
2. The steamboat.
3. The Erie Canal.
4. Railroad extension.

14. The Time for Making Outlines. — The teacher should employ outlines whenever they will be useful. In most cases, an outline is best made *during the recitation*, when, with crayon in hand, the teacher leads the class to work out the sub-heads step by step. The process of constructing an outline may last but a few minutes, or it may occupy the recitations of several days; but in every case it should be a product, in large part, of the student's activity in thinking upon the relations of the facts studied in one or more lessons. When the result is a genuine achievement of the class, it possesses much more value and excites much more interest than if it were given bodily to the class by the teacher. In fact, the latter practice would be useless, or even harmful. The opposite extreme in method, that of asking pupils to work out their outlines entirely unaided, would in most cases discourage them with the difficulty of the task.

15. Conclusion.—It cannot be too strongly emphasized, in conclusion, that information concerning events in history is not adequate knowledge of history; comprehension of the relations existing between events is essential. The outline is an aid in the grasping of these interrelations; it is to be used, not as an end in itself, but as a means towards the comprehension and memorizing of the facts of history.

IV. Reviews

16. An Aid to Memory.—As the work in the construction of outlines aims principally to assist pupils in understanding history, so review exercises are mainly intended to aid in the memorizing of facts. Yet both objects should be held in mind in both kinds of work; for the outline presents the subject matter in a form that is more readily memorized, and much of the effort in review should be directed towards testing the pupil's grasp, rather than merely his remembrance, of the facts. The latter point is seen to be especially important when we recall the principles already insisted upon—that memory is based chiefly upon understanding, and that the practice of memorizing facts before they are understood should be discouraged as a thoroughly harmful one. Consequently, no review exercise should degenerate into a mere memory test. The students who readily memorize subject matter which they comprehend only superficially should not be given the opportunity to outshine their fellows, who, with less active memories, are yet more deserving.

17. A Test of Knowledge.—The best way in which to test whether a student's knowledge is vital rather than superficial is to ask him to make new combinations of the facts that he has learned. An extremely simple illustration of this device is the following: Pupils are required to learn the names of the presidents in their proper order, as they pass through the history of the administrations. In review, they should not only be expected to repeat this list, but they should also be asked such questions as these: Who was president before Jackson? Who after Madison? Who followed Pierce? —the questions coming rapidly and in any order. Again, by requiring pupils in review to make a comparison, their real grasp of the facts will be revealed. For example, the principles held by the first Republican party during Washington's administration may be compared with those upon which their measures were based during the administrations of Madison and Monroe. Causal relations should be the subject of review quite as frequently as mere lists of events and their dates. Of such a nature are the following: Why did the British evacuate Boston in 1776? What event led to the passing of the retaliatory or intolerable acts by Parliament in 1774? Why did France aid the United States during the Revolution?

18. Typical Reviews.—The several types of review exercises that follow should be employed at different times, as each has certain points of excellence.

(1) Almost every recitation should open with a five or ten minute exercise in which the teacher gives a rapid fire of short, sharp questions. Many of these may be answered by one word, such as a date, a name or a brief sentence. For example, in studying the Civil War period, these may be review questions: When was Lincoln elected? What was his party? When was this party organized? What was its leading principle? Who was its first presidential candidate? Was he elected? A moment's hesitation in answering any of these questions should count as a failure and the question should be passed on immediately. Such a quiz should cover especially the last few lessons, but it may be extended to the more prominent facts of the entire period previously studied. The class should be thoroughly awake and attentive as a result of this brief review.

(2) In connection with the discussion of many topics there may be review questions based upon events of a similar nature that have been studied previously. When the acquisition of Mexican territory is under discussion, the earlier annexations may well be reviewed very briefly. When the story of Gettysburg has been told, ask for facts about Lee's first invasion of the north and its result. When secession is being considered, these questions may be asked: Had South Carolina shown a rebellious spirit before? When? Over what questions? Who was president then? Compare the

attitude of Jackson on that occasion with that of Buchanan in 1860-1861. In many cases the events to be reviewed in this way have a direct causal connection with the one immediately under discussion.

(3) As far as possible, the topic should be regarded as the unit in history work. It is evident that some topics involve a greater element of reasoning and require more careful thought and statement than others which may be held in mind by sheer force of memory. It will soon be discovered that the latter topics are more readily reviewed than the former, because they are generally capable of clear, brief statement. When, however, a topic that involves the relations of many facts has once been thrown into the form of an outline, we have something which can be reviewed without great thought or laborious statement. The black-board review of outlines, such as those developed in the preceding chapter, should therefore be a prominent feature of all class work. Almost every day a few pupils should be sent to the black-board and assigned the task of writing these outlines from memory while the rest of the class recite the advance lesson. When the outlines are finished, they should be read and discussed by the class.

(4) When any considerable number of students find some portion of the subject matter especially difficult, this may be announced as a "review topic." A list of these review topics should be kept, and each should be carefully written up in the pupils' note-books after

it has been thoroughly discussed. Then let it be understood that at any time the teacher may call for a written recitation upon one or more of these topics.

An example of the last form of topic may be found in the causes and results of tobacco culture in colonial Virginia. This matter is seldom treated fully in texts, and it consequently gives excellent opportunity for the independent exercise of the students' reasoning powers. Among the reasons why tobacco culture came to be the one great industry of Virginia may be cited the following:

a. Climate. *b*. The nature of the soil. *c*. The waterways, giving easy access to the new lands of the interior. *d*. Cheap labor—indentured servants and slaves. *e*. The great demand for tobacco in Europe and the consequent high prices.

More or less directly resulting from this industry were the following conditions:

a. The large plantation system. *b*. The absence of cities. *c*. The growth of the planter class, an aristocracy. *d*. The increase of slavery.

When such a topic has once been fully worked out in class, it should be reviewed on the following day, and upon occasions thereafter, by having the outline placed upon the black-board.

(5) Drill exercises should form a part of the review work of history classes, though they will not be so prominent in this as in some other subjects. The names of places or events, with the dates associated with them, form the

most convenient source of drill exercises. Sometimes a succession of dates marking the occurrence of important events may be similarly treated. For example, the dates 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1770, 1773, 1774, may each stand for an important phase of the pre-Revolutionary discussion.

19. Dates.—Probably no question in the teaching of history has been more discussed than this: How many dates should pupils be required to learn? Yet, of itself, this question has little importance, and the more thoroughly the teacher enters into the spirit and method of true history teaching, the less important it becomes in his mind. A good teacher throws his entire energy into the work of interesting his pupils and aiding them to understand what they are studying; he is not so anxious how much they will *remember* as how much they will *know* of the subject. He is certain, moreover, that if his pupils do understand and become interested, they will remember the important events with the proper dates. It would certainly be of no use for the pupil to remember any other dates than these.

The question of dates, then, becomes subordinate, and to a great degree it takes care of itself. Every intelligent teacher will be glad to have every other teacher of history decide the matter for himself.

V. The Use of Supplementary Reading

20. Utility of Supplementary Reading.—Within recent years a new element has been made prominent in history

courses—so prominent that wide-awake and progressive teachers find it necessary to recognize its utility and value. This is the use by both teacher and pupil of other books besides the text.

The first reason for the use of supplementary materials is that the text-book is only a summary, or outline, of events. Now, the account of any occurrence in our own time and neighborhood is considered satisfactory in proportion as its details are given. How irritating it is when the bearer of interesting news either cannot or will not tell all of the story—precisely how, when and where the incident occurred, who were the persons concerned, what each one said, how certain ones were dressed, etc., etc. This hunger for details is easily explained; we desire to form a mental picture, and details are necessary to make the picture vivid and complete.

In the study of occurrences in past times and at distant places, the natural mind gives evidence of the same intense hunger for details. The text-book is prevented, by its brevity, from containing many details; its story is therefore dry, lifeless and uninteresting when standing alone. The skeleton there presented must be clothed with the living flesh of minute circumstances before it will present a story which has even a remote resemblance to the pictures of the events as they actually occurred.

We shall agree, then, that in learning history we endeavor to reproduce the scenes of past times with the greatest degree of accuracy; and that this process becomes

impossible without some detailed description of men and places. It follows, therefore, that much of the study of history from text-books is not the learning of history at all, but rather the memorizing of words and phrases. Here lies one explanation for the lack of interest found

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON

The largest and finest library building in the world. It was begun in 1886 and completed in 1897 at a cost of about $7,000,000, including site. The plans and decorations represent the best work of American artists.

in so many history classes; for most pupils, the learning of detached and meaningless formulas is not an attractive task.

Supplementary books aid in the reproduction of historical scenes, (1) when they describe the appearance and the personality of the actors, (2) when they picture the

places where events occurred and (3) when they furnish explanation for the motives of historical characters and show in detail the results of events. The majority of pupils who cannot "remember" history have never had clear mental pictures of the events. Supplementary reading, by supplying the materials that are necessary to arouse interest, gives, at the same time, the best stimulus to memory.

The benefits derived from the use of supplementary books are not confined to the years of school life. The training which is thus given to the historical imagination bears fruit in mature years, when busy men and women find pleasure and relief in the continued reading of historical literature. Few acquire the taste for such reading who have not begun it in early years, and few possess it as a result of the study of text-books alone.

21. Essentials in Supplementary Reading.—(1) First, get the books. If the law authorizes their purchase, the school authorities must be induced to expend the money. The teacher's personal responsibility at this point should not be overlooked.

(2) Get the right books. In selecting books the teacher should depend upon his own knowledge of their adaptability to his class and upon the advice of competent judges. The purchase of books merely from their titles is quite certain to result in disappointment. The only legitimate test for a book intended for the school library is, Can the pupils profitably use it? This involves a con-

sideration of its contents as well as its expense; but it may be safely asserted that usually the supplementary history books which pupils will use most freely are quite inexpensive.

(3) The teacher himself must be an appreciative reader of the books. This will enable him to teach pupils how to handle a book and how to find in it, by means of the index and table of contents, certain passages or parts of the story. The teacher's familiarity with books will aid pupils in overcoming any reluctance in their use. Many students whose home environment has not been favorable will need the stimulus of example before they will freely handle books and readily find in them the desired information. More than this, the example set when the teacher brings to the class the results of his own reading is of first importance. He may then show how his knowledge has been made vital, how his interest has been quickened and his pleasure heightened, by this work with supplementary books. If, by telling the class what he has read, he arouses their desire to secure the same results, he has furnished the proper basis for supplementary reading.

(4) The teacher should not rely solely upon example but should employ every aid possible to assist pupils in the use of books. Beginners in history need something more than a mere direction to "find the books," or even to find a particular book, upon some topic. They can be greatly helped by exact page references to the passages which the teacher knows to be valuable. The teacher

who can find time to give even a few books such close examination as to select valuable portions in this way, will be repaid by better results when pupils report upon their reading in the recitation.

(5) The teacher should remember that pupils differ greatly in their desire and their ability to use books. Some, whose home training and natural aptitudes lead them in the right direction, need no inducement and little guidance. Others must be interested and carefully directed; these are the students who most need the reading and for whom the training it gives will be most beneficial. In assigning particular references to these pupils, the teacher should aim to have the character of the book and the topic suited to the individual who is to use it. Much discouragement may otherwise be the result.

(6) While at times it may be the best policy simply to place a book in the hands of the student, trusting that its inherent attractiveness will arouse his interest, and expecting no other result, yet, as a rule, the teacher should expect some definite report upon the pupil's reading. The students who take readily to this work will be quite as anxious to tell what they have read as they were to find it. Their reports will be given voluntarily. Other students will need to be reminded that the results of the reading should appear in class, and it may even be necessary to show them beforehand exactly what facts should be recited. In either case, the teacher should assure himself that not only the pupil who reports, but also the

other members of the class, acquire a clear and definite addition to their stock of information. A careless or muddled report from supplementary reading may bring confusion of mind to the entire class. Students should be directed to find in their reading not merely a confirmation of what they already know, but, particularly, new facts and those that help explain the events of history. Their natural curiosity should be constantly stimulated by questions and by hints of possible interesting discoveries; then their attitude of mind towards the matter they read will be that of the investigator who is searching for new light, and this will be the best guarantee of a good report to the class.

22. Conclusion. — The up-to-date teacher looks upon the library as an essential part of the school; he finds that the use of books is of such utility to the student that he is not willing to dispense with them. If the library does not contain certain books that are much desired, his own meager earnings may furnish them; for he realizes that the lifeblood of his subject flows through these books, while the text alone can furnish to his pupils but the dry bones of information.

VI. Teaching Cause and Effect

23. Why Causes and Effects should be Considered. —We take it for granted that behind every act of our neighbors there is an adequate reason—whether we think it a good reason or not—and the passing of judgment upon

their behavior is a source of no little satisfaction to us. Such being the natural tendency of the human mind, is it not strange that the actions of men who lived in other times are often studied with little or no reference to their reasonableness? As in the previous chapter we noted the natural human demand for vivid details, so now we find a similar natural demand for reasons.

The omission of the element of cause and effect in the study of history is one explanation of its lack of attractiveness, especially for boys. There is no kind of questions which will make the boy nature respond so quickly as this: "Why do you suppose they did that?" The boy, with his lower power of mechanical memory, depends, more than the girl does, upon his ability to see the reasons for events. In fact, it is quite impossible in most cases to arouse his interest if this phase of history is neglected.

24. Illustrations of Causes and Effects. — 1. EXPLORATION.—In the history of early American exploration the reasons why certain men made their voyages, or the reasons why they explored where they did, are not made sufficiently prominent in most text-books.

Take, for example, Drake, who "sailed around the world." (*a*) The statement of his main motive, the plundering of Spanish vessels, in itself needs explanation. Why should he do this? Were England and Spain at war? Not openly. Then, why were they enemies? Chiefly for a reason which in this day we find it hard to realize, namely, they differed in religion. (*b*) Drake's

voyage along the western coast of South America has a simple explanation; there, distant from the center of Spanish activity and hence safe from the attacks of Spanish vessels, he might peacefully rob the rich treasure ships that sailed from Peru to the Isthmus of Panama. (*c*) But why, having completed his work, did he sail as far north as California? Simply because he hoped to find a way home around the northern end of North America and thus to avoid his Spanish enemies, who, he knew, must by this time be lying in wait for him along the route by which he came. (*d*) Why, then, did he sail around the globe? Because of his discouragement in not finding the northern route for which he was searching, and his belief that this would be the safest way to England.

So, for every explorer we might find, by studying far enough, the reasons, simple or complex, for his particular achievements.

2. Navigation Acts. — Pupils are accustomed to learn the principal provisions of the Navigation Acts without inquiring into the exact reasons for their enactment; often, indeed, they are allowed to assume that these acts were wholly detrimental to colonial interests, without inquiry as to their precise effects.

Take, for example, the requirement that colonial trade with foreign countries should be carried on in English or colonial vessels. Only when we realize that this law was a blow struck at the Dutch ship-owners and mer-

chants do we find a sufficient motive for it. The Dutch, the greatest maritime nation of Europe at the middle of the seventeenth century, were rivals of the English, and the latter determined to get this profitable business away from them. Notice, however, that colonial vessels were allowed to engage in this trade—a provision distinctly advantageous to New England, where it had a stimulating effect upon the industries of ship-building and commerce.

If students are given but a few of the facts involved in such matters, they may reason out for themselves the correct conclusions. For example: Who would be benefited by that provision of the Navigation Acts under which colonial tobacco, rice and indigo must be shipped to England only? What effect would the enforcement of this law have upon the colonial producers? Reason similarly concerning the law requiring that all foreign productions should come to the colonies through English ports.

The teacher should clearly realize that the value of knowing about the Navigation Acts consists chiefly in the student's being able to understand just why they were enacted and just how they affected the different parties concerned. If these matters are neglected, there is little profit in studying the topic at all.

3. The Retaliatory Acts of 1774.—Another example, taken from the same period of history, will serve further to illustrate how the chief point of an event con-

sists in seeing the reason for it and its results. We learn that one of the "retaliatory" or "intolerable" acts of 1774 "closed the port of Boston"; often students are allowed to repeat that phrase glibly in recitation without being questioned as to its meaning or the consequences that followed it. If no ships could enter or leave Boston harbor who would be affected? The merchants of the city? Certainly; for, if they could not import or export goods, their profits would cease. The ship-owners? Yes, for they could earn no freight. The sailors and the dock-hands? Yes, for they could earn no wages. The people of Boston in general? Certainly; they would in that case have to pay higher prices as the supply of some commodities became limited. Thus it was that the British government undertook to punish the city of Boston. But it is impossible for the student to grasp the point or to make the text-book statement anything more than a phrase, unless he sees in imagination all the consequences which have just been mentioned and realizes their effect upon the people of Boston.

25. Deceptive Reasoning.—Very often pupils are allowed to deceive themselves into thinking that they know causes and effects when they do not, being unable to trace the links that connect either of these to the event. In the last illustration, a pupil may speak of the "Boston Port Bill" as a "punishment," and yet he may be unable to show exactly how it was a punishment. In this case, the history lesson has wrought upon his mind a distinct

injury. He is acquiring a loose habit of thinking; he is being trained in self-deception, and, if he realizes his lack of understanding, he plays the hypocrite. Is it strange that after "education" of this type he falls victim in later life to patent medicine quacks, religious fads, financial crazes and weather prediction nonsense? The school, instead of teaching him to reason from cause to effect, has taught him to accept statements on authority and without questioning.

A very common illustration of this point is found in the statement that "the invention of the cotton-gin caused an increase of slavery." How many students are called upon to trace out carefully the steps that lie hidden between the event and its ultimate effect?

26. A Restriction.—At this point it may be well to raise the question, Should students be asked to learn about any important event for the occurrence of which no reason is assigned, or for which no reason can be given that is within their power to comprehend? We are inclined to answer this question in the negative. This does not imply that pupils in elementary classes will understand, the first time they study it, all the causes of an event or even the most important causes in their fulness. But we do maintain that to learn such a statement as "The United States purchased Louisiana in 1803" and to leave the topic without any reason having been given for this great event, is not only a profitless but a harmful exercise. It requires a mind of extraordinary strength to

survive this kind of treatment. Again, shall the pupil learn that in 1823 President Monroe proclaimed the famous "Monroe doctrine," without being given some facts concerning the conditions that seemed to make the announcement necessary? If he is incapable of grasping the causes of this event, is it not too early in his progress for him to deal with the event at all?

27. History, a Series of Problems.—It is quite a false view to regard history as a "memory study" and to place it in contrast with arithmetic, which is supposed to require more "reasoning." It is quite as necessary to reason as to remember in the study of history. In fact, properly considered, history is a series of problems.

America is to be discovered—by what process shall this be done? It is to be explored—who shall undertake the work and what regions shall they visit? Such are the initial problems in American history, and these are followed by a greater one. Here, in the new world, is virgin soil fit to be the home of great peoples. What traditions of society and government shall be planted here?

Beginning at the lower right corner, reading up the right side and down the left, the panels represent: Columbus before the Council of Salamanca; leaving the Convent of La Rabida; before Queen Isabella; starting upon his first voyage; beginning his return voyage; his triumphal reception at Barcelona; his arrest and imprisonment after the third voyage; his death. The transom above the doors represents the first landing in America. The standing figures in the borders of the panels are statues of friends of Columbus and of explorers and conquerors of America. The four figures at the corners symbolize the four great regions, Europe, Asia, Africa and America. On the upper and lower borders of the panels are heads of famous historians of America, and at the summit of the casement is a bust of Columbus. The doors were designed and modeled by an American, Randolph Rogers, and are considered to be among the finest in the world, in both conception and execution. The cost was about $25,000.

COLUMBUS DOORS, CAPITOL, WASHINGTON
At east entrance to the rotunda. [See footnote on opposite page.]

We know the outcome, but this result was not foreordained and should not be assumed at the beginning of our study. The Spanish, the French and the English were all rivals and possible occupants of the North American continent. They entered upon their respective tasks and for a century or more the result was doubtful. The problem is, Why was the result favorable to the English? What were the forces at work in the mother countries and within the breasts of the early explorers and settlers? What forces of nature assisted to bring about this most fortunate result, upon which the very existence of our nation depends?

The most fascinating feature of this problem appears when we endeavor to solve the question, Why did the French lose their hold upon America? Here we should enter, for explanation, upon an extended comparison of the French and English colonies in America, and of the respective policies of the mother countries. Following this comparison with a rapid view of the French and Indian wars, we then have a fund of information from which to derive the answer to the question.

Other great problems in American colonial history are these:

(1) What were the forces at work to separate some of the English colonies from the mother country, while others remained and still are loyal under English rule?

(2) When the independence of the thirteen colonies was secured, did this necessarily involve their union under

one government; or would not the previous experience of mankind lead us to expect the formation of several rival nations? The fact that we have here real, rather than fanciful, problems, may be impressed if we ask, How would French domination in America have changed its history? How would we be governed today if we were under English rule? What would have been the results had there been formed three independent nations instead of one?

Of course, these questions cannot be definitely answered. We shall never know what "might have been." But their consideration can aid us in realizing that what did happen in such a case was only one of several possibilities which might affect the character of our nation.

VII. Interpreting History by Experience

28. Experience an Aid in Interpretation. — It has doubtless become apparent in the course of this discussion that there is a close connection between the finding of causes and results and the use of supplementary books in history. For, to understand the causes and the results of a historical event we must know its details, and only the books can supply them. By the side of this important fact should stand another of equal consequence, namely, the understanding of many topics depends not only upon the detailed facts that can be learned from books, but also upon the fund of experience that may be in the possession of the learner.

Let us illustrate this point. The text-book tells how, before the American Revolution, colonial officials endeavored to enforce the Navigation Acts by the use of "Writs of Assistance." These writs authorized officers to search houses for smuggled goods. Now, what was the precise ground of opposition to the use of these writs? Was it that the concealment of goods held in violation of the law should not be a subject of investigation, and that in such investigation the officers might not search private houses? If the student's experience extends widely enough, he has personal knowledge of officers doing now, under the authority of "search-warrants," the very thing complained of by the colonists. The opposition of the colonists lay, then, in the difference between the two writs mentioned. This point can only be made clear by an examination of the language of the two warrants; the writ of assistance did not contain the exact description of the place to be searched or of the goods to be seized. The teacher should have a blank form of search-warrant to display in class, as a tangible backing for the true understanding of the topic, and he should complete the explanation by reference to Amendment IV of the United States Constitution and to the parallel clause of the state constitution.

Another topic, more difficult than the one last discussed, is that of the United States Bank. Pupils may learn, more or less readily, the text-book account of this institution in either of its terms of existence; but their

comprehension of it will depend upon the extent to which their experience has brought them into contact with actual things of the same nature as those discussed. For instance, the bank was "chartered," having a "capital" of so many dollars, with "directors," some of whom rep-

WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON
The mansion of the president of the United States, erected in 1818, on the site of the original executive mansion, built in 1792.

resented the United States government. Is there within the range of the pupil's observation a corporation which will furnish the necessary illustrative material upon which an understanding of these technical terms may be based? If not, the attempt to learn and use the terms is quite futile. If pupils have some acquaintance with the workings

of a bank, they may readily comprehend other terms used in this discussion, "deposits," "circulation," "redemption," etc. If their previous experience gives them no grasp of these terms, the pupils should be assisted by the teacher and encouraged to gain information from parents and friends who are familiar with ordinary banking operations.

29. Immature Pupils. — If the point here made is a legitimate one, it follows that such a subject as the United States Bank should not be studied by pupils who are too immature to have some real grasp of the business of banking. Time spent upon a subject that is beyond the range of their experience had much better be spent upon clarifying and supplementing some of the simpler topics in American history. Students will enjoy and profit by this study in proportion as they find themselves dealing with realities, instead of with abstractions and mysteries.

30. Events of Today.—Following the principle last stated, it becomes the teacher's duty to tie the subjects treated in the history lesson, wherever possible, to the world of today. Is the tariff of 1816 or that of 1832 under discussion? Then it is not only appropriate, but essential, if the element of reality is to be prominent in the history class, to ask, Have we duties on imported goods today? On what goods? Why? How are duties collected? Who pays them? Do these duties affect us in any way?

The "Whisky Insurrection" of 1794 will be a far-away topic and may have no real connection with the student's life and experience unless we ask, Are internal revenue taxes collected today? Upon what goods? By whom? Who has seen the revenue stamps? Do people today object to the payment of the tax?

The paper money of the Revolutionary War and that of Civil War times finds ample illustration in the actual paper money of today, which may be brought into class to have its language read and explained. The Stamp Act of 1765 cannot be adequately treated without mention of the Stamp Act of 1898.

The story of Magellan's discovery of the Philippine Islands should bring out the question, Who owns those islands today? The Spanish-American people of Mexico and South America, the French people of Canada and the French names upon our maps should all serve as connecting links between the past and the present. The mind must have a roadway upon which to travel back to the past; and the only path is that supplied by present knowledge and by accumulated experience. If, then, history is studied as detached or isolated from the world of actual knowledge and experience, it is words and not realities that are being learned, and the study is unprofitable.

31. Pictures and Material Objects.—The wide-awake teacher is ever on the lookout for pictures and tangible objects with which to increase the pupils' fund of knowl-

edge and experience. An old spinning-wheel serves to vivify colonial history. Old coins aid pupils in realizing that mysterious past of which their dates speak. Indian relics are valuable, and old newspapers grow more precious every year. All of these and many more objects may serve to equip a little historical museum which will grow in the school with astonishing rapidity when once started. Civil War veterans will add their loans and contributions of bullets, "shinplasters" and paper cartridges. All of these things aid in that resurrection of the past which we call the study of history.

VIII. Training the Judgment

32. An Aid to Judgment. — It is not necessary, after traversing the ground of the previous chapters, to demonstrate the fact that the study of history calls for the exercise of judgment. It is not sufficiently recognized by teachers, however, that judgment depends in large measure upon the ability to imagine. Since it is through imagination that we see clearly the events of the past, and since this clear vision depends upon a knowledge of details, we may therefore conclude that any judgment to be worthy of the name must be preceded by an adequate presentation of the topic in hand. Snap judgments and those based upon insufficient data are not only valueless, but harmful. Historical study should do nothing to strengthen the tendency of man to judge prematurely, but should rather stimulate the spirit of inves-

tigation, without which no basis for judgment can be secured.

In calling for judgments from the history class, the teacher should be careful (1) to present adequate grounds upon which to base an opinion, and (2) to avoid being arbitrary, rather allowing for that difference of opinion which is inevitable among people who really think. Originality of view on the part of any pupil is admirable, provided it be sane and backed by sound reasons.

33. Causes and Results.—Judgment is called for in the search for causes and results. There must be a fitness and consistency existing between the fact which we are learning and its antecedents and consequences. The sequence of events is rational, because we are studying the history of rational beings, and not that of the insane, whose actions bear towards each other no such relation. The young mind, prone to wander and to leave gaps in its logical processes where there should be none, is greatly benefited by tracing carefully this sequence of cause and effect. If, however, as previously pointed out, the authority of teacher or text-book is substituted for this careful tracing of relations, there is no training of judgment, but, rather, the fostering of wrong mental habits. The student who learns the statement that "the Erie Canal caused New York City to grow in population" will derive no benefit from his knowledge unless he actually traces out the chain of causation. One of the greatest sources of error in human judgment consists in assuming that

because one event followed another it was therefore the result of the first. If the history class can do anything towards breaking down the tendency to frame these loose judgments, it will be doing a great service to students.

Attention has been called to the fact that in the study of history there is nearly, if not quite, as much call for the exercise of reasoning as in the study of mathematics. We may go farther and say that the former subject gives opportunity for the exercise of a much more valuable type of judgment than does the latter. In mathematical studies we deal with causes that are known perfectly, and we have results that are either absolutely right or absolutely wrong. The results are inevitable, too; we cannot imagine any other result for the problem presented than the one that is right. Now, in actual life, as we deal with our fellow human beings and mingle in society, there are few absolute relations and inevitable consequences. Our judgment, therefore, about these human affairs is liable to be fallible. It is very easy to miss seeing some of the causes of an act, and it is quite impossible to anticipate all of its consequences. We must deal many times not with certainties and absolute principles, as in mathematics, but with probabilities and with principles whose application varies according to circumstances.

34. Comparisons.—Judgment is called for in the making of comparisons. It is possible to compare two persons, events or situations only when they have some

features in common. The comparison consists, then, in pointing out the common elements and those that are different. We have seen that such a comparison of the French and English methods of colonization can be made. So we may compare the New England colonies with the Southern group on numerous points, such as soil, climate, rivers, coast line, character of people, nature of industries and social life. It is possible to make a very interesting comparison between the North and the South at the outbreak of the Civil War, upon the following topics: population, industries, wealth, knowledge of the country which was to be the seat of war, military leaders, sources of military supplies, merchant marine, fitness of men to become soldiers.

35. The Actions of Men.—It is often necessary in the study of history to pass judgment upon the actions of its leading characters. Here there is great danger of judging upon insufficient grounds. The desire to form a fair judgment may therefore be an incentive to read more, in order to obtain the greatest amount of information possible concerning the man's motives and the circumstances under which he acted. Was Jefferson right in refusing to involve the country in war during his presidency? Was Polk right in hastening the war against Mexico? What shall be our judgment of Benedict Arnold? Will his history reveal any facts that may mitigate our harshest criticism? What shall we say of Andrew Jackson? Can we separate the good from the

bad qualities in him and arrive at a sound and impartial judgment as to his true worth?

36. Public Policies.—There is frequent occasion in the study of history to pass judgment upon policies. Again, let it be remembered that the verdict is either valueless or unjust which is not based upon the greatest amount of evidence obtainable. We condemn the Puritans for persecuting Roger Williams and the Quakers. If they were present, what provocation and what circumstances could they cite which would affect our opinion in their favor? The policy of the English government preceding the American Revolution receives in most textbooks unqualified condemnation. Yet little emphasis is laid upon the fact that navigation laws were systematically violated by the colonists, and the fact is not mentioned that in some of their provisions colonial interests were benefited. The Stamp Act seen through American eyes is likely to be a monstrous instrument of oppression, enacted with malicious purpose by a designing Parliament. When we consider that its author gave a year's notice of its introduction into Parliament for the purposes of ascertaining the sentiments of the colonists and of giving them an opportunity to present any other feasible plan for raising the money, new light is thrown upon the incident. When we learn further that the money to be raised by the Stamp Act was supposed to be sufficient to pay but one-third of the cost of a small standing army in the colonies, the balance of the cost

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON

The main entrance hall, showing grand staircase and entrance of passageway leading to public reading room. The sculptured figures and decorations are the work of Philip Martiny.

to come from the British treasury; when, again, we read the history of previous unsuccessful efforts to induce the colonies to give adequate support to frontier defenses; when, finally, Pontiac's war, with its terrible devastation, is cited as an evidence that some permanent force was necessary to secure protection—with all these facts on the other side of the question arrayed before us, may not our judgment be compelled to reconsider the harsh conclusions that are so commonly accepted concerning the Stamp Act?

We cannot here cite further facts to show that there was "another side" to the pre-Revolutionary debate. The single fact that *one-third of the people*, and those including the more intelligent classes, remained loyal to the mother country, is evidence of the strength of the argument against the movement for independence. We may not alter our conclusion as a result of our examination of the evidence on both sides, but the process by which our judgment is formed will be very different on account of our study, and its value will be very much greater because we have approached the subject in a spirit of fairness.

So, also, the history of the great debate that preceded secession deserves study on both sides. The teacher, at least, if not the pupils, should take pains to find and to state in its strongest form the argument of those who led the secession movement. They based their cause partly upon the origin and nature of our government,

and some eminent authorities now believe that upon this point they had the better of the argument. They sincerely believed that a condition of slavery was better suited to the negro than freedom. Cannot facts be cited to support this contention? The leaders of the South pointed to acts of Northern legislatures in behalf of fugitive slaves that virtually nullified acts of Congress and the Constitution itself. May this be some justification for their own rash acts? In brief, may we not investigate and present to the judgment of pupils that side of the controversy for which thousands of the noblest Americans gladly offered their lives? The full and frank admission of all that can be reasonably said on either side cannot injure the cause of truth. Our faith in the side which judgment finally says is right will be the stronger because we know the strongest arguments that can be brought against it.

37. Intelligent Citizenship.—If the hearing and careful weighing of the evidence on both sides of our great historical controversies characterizes the study of history students, they are being trained to carry the same spirit into their examination of the many public questions of the day, upon which they themselves must pass judgment as intelligent citizens. Here is the opportunity to inculcate habits of broad and tolerant thinking. Judgments that are arbitrary and prejudiced should be frowned upon; the generous admission of a strong argument in favor of an opponent should be commended. Thus may

be attained one of the greatest benefits to be derived from the study of history.

IX. Working for Ethical Results

38. Dependence upon Methods.—In a general sense the ethical results to be gained from the study of history are not different from those that may be secured in the pursuit of any other branch. The matter may be summed up in one phrase, *honesty of thought.* When students are taught to look facts squarely in the face, to see all the facts, not merely those that are agreeable to them, they are learning the first steps in straightforward thinking. It has been said that the methods sometimes employed by students in solving mathematical problems are distinctly unethical; that is, when the process is half guesswork, or when the student is satisfied with any result or when he is satisfied with the right one without understanding the method by which it was obtained. Likewise, if the mental operations in historical study are slipshod, if no honest effort is made to secure all available data before a conclusion is drawn, and if the student is satisfied to present as his own a conclusion which he cannot explain—then, too, he has used distinctly unethical processes. No one can ever know how many of the smart rascals that feed upon the credulity of the American people received daily training in rascality in the class rooms of our common schools.

39. Charity in Judgments.—In the previous chapter it was asserted that the effort to appreciate the views of both sides in a controversy, especially to give due consideration to beliefs that we cannot ourselves accept, should make students of history more charitable in forming judgments. This certainly has an ethical bearing and will tend toward the formation of qualities that are extremely desirable in after life.

40. The Triumph of Right.—One of the most important lessons taught by history is that which leads us to have faith in the triumph of right over wrong. We learn that the processes by which progress is made are slow and gradual, and this teaches us patience. We see that a wrong committed to afford temporary relief in a difficult situation finally makes matters worse, and that compromise with evil solves no problems; while at the same time, progress against evil must in nearly every case proceed by gradual stages that may be termed compromises.

41. Moral Qualities.—Perhaps the greatest moral lessons are taught through the study of the lives of great men and women. These historical characters are admired for their strong qualities. They are the models and the source of inspiration for young hero-worshipers. The stories of struggles against poverty and adverse circumstances that characterize the boyhood of so many American leaders have added faith and strength to the life of many an American youth. The boy tends to become like that which he admires. Stories of Lincoln's honesty

serve to embody that abstract quality in an attractive human form; so the child grasps more readily the true meaning of honesty and realizes more fully its beauty and strength.

Stories of American soldiers typify the physical bravery that should steel every boy's heart against unmanly weakness. But we need in our histories more stories of pure moral bravery, like that of Wendell Phillips, who saw all his social and professional life blasted by his acceptance of anti-slavery agitation as a life-work. We find in the story of George Rogers Clark a fine example of tenacity of purpose under the most adverse circumstances. We should take more pains to bring into view examples of this quality where military achievement was not involved. Such a one may be found in the history of ex-President J. Q. Adams, whose work as a member of Congress between 1831 and 1847 displays the highest type of moral courage.

42. Civic Virtues.—The teacher who will make the civic virtues that are demanded in times of peace as attractive as those required in times of war will render a valuable service to the country. Should we not consciously aim to enlarge the meaning of the word *patriotism*, which to the young mind means chiefly readiness to go to war for one's country? In fact, the study of history should lead directly to the consideration of public duty as it confronts young men and women—to the duty that they owe their own town or village, because here

the influence of intelligent and high-minded young lives is most needed. Very few can enter directly the service of the state or nation, but all can devote time and labor towards building up in the local community a strong, healthy sentiment in favor of public righteousness.

X. The Place of Wars and Battles

43. Change in Methods.—In recent years there has been a change of considerable importance in the emphasis given to various topics in the history class. The tendency has been to make less prominent the military campaigns and battles of our history and to devote more time to the consideration of the life, industries and manners of the people in the different periods. This change of emphasis is certainly in the right direction. For wars, however great their consequences, are nevertheless but a small part of the people's activities; moreover, it is the social and economic conditions that furnish the issues of war in every instance.

44. Economic Causes of Wars.—The truth of the statement last made may be established by a little investigation into the causes of the various wars that have occurred in our history. The French and Indian wars, so far as they had American causes, reflect the struggle between the pioneers of two nations for the control of the economic resources of the Newfoundland fisheries and of the central plains. The fur trade of the lake region and the rich agricultural lands of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys

were at stake in this struggle. Well may we study with thoroughness the industries and life of the French in their scattered settlements and of the English colonists on the Atlantic border; for here we shall find the true causes of these wars.

The causes that led to the Revolutionary War were at the bottom economic. The conditions of colonial com-

STATE, WAR AND NAVY BUILDING, WASHINGTON
Directly west of the executive mansion. It was begun in 1871 and completed in 1893 at a cost of $10,700,000.

merce furnish the key to the greatest discontent with the mother country. The right of taxation involved, indeed, a political principle; but this, like most other political principles, rests upon an economic basis—the control of individual property. The means adopted by the colo-

nists in opposing the policy of the British government before taking up arms were purely economic, and their understanding involves a knowledge of colonial industry.

The War of 1812 was preceded by events that concerned our industries and our commercial relations. The reasons for its long postponement and for its final occurrence may be found in the study of economic conditions on the Atlantic seaboard and beyond the mountains in the new West. Again, it need hardly be said that the economic divergence of North and South and the existence of that social-economic institution, slavery, accounts for the Civil War. Lastly, even in the recent war with Spain, the interference with our commerce which Spain's policy in Cuba involved was no small feature of the situation. Thus it will be seen that in placing more emphasis upon the actual conditions of life in our history we are studying the causes from which wars spring.

Quite as much may it be said that the final victory in war is determined by the relative economic stability of the contestants. The importance of this fact in our earlier wars is seen only by the student of European history. But in the Civil War this topic may furnish a most fruitful source of study and discussion.

45. Other Phases of Wars.—The time usually given to the discussion of military movements may be shortened and certain other phases of war may profitably receive greater attention. Among the latter are the finances of our wars. To make these clear will involve an ele-

mentary treatment of (1) the means by which taxes were raised; (2) the story of our paper money issues, with the invaluable lessons which every young American citizen may learn from them; (3) the issuance of national bonds and the establishment of the national banking system. As these subjects are usually learned they constitute a series of mysterious phrases mechanically memorized; whereas, in the more advanced classes they are capable of such explanation and illustration as to furnish a fund of valuable information which the students will have abundant opportunity to use in the practical affairs of life.

Again, the means used to raise troops and the manner of their equipment and support are topics that will make more vivid the actual circumstances of our wars. Too often an army is merely a blue or red line on the map —a campaign is a series of dotted lines. Students fail to see the men who marched, camped and charged, who bled and died on battlefields. We recite glibly "six thousand men were killed and wounded," with no tremor of the voice, no quickening of pulse-beat. Is it too much to assert that this cold-blooded way of studying war is inhuman and hardening to the sensibilities of our pupils? Can it not be that the glorification of war in schools accounts in no small measure for the readiness of each succeeding generation to incur war's horrors without realizing until too late what it means at the fireside and around the family table?

46. Probability of Errors in Teaching.—A most important objection to the extensive study of military movements in the common schools is the fact that in most cases neither the author of the text-book nor the teacher is sufficiently informed in the technicalities of military science to be a good judge of the facts stated. How many pupils are taught that in the Battle of Bunker Hill both the American and the British committed unpardonable errors from a military point of view? To how many students is Grant's advance from the Wilderness to Petersburg a triumphal march, rather than a series of military reverses? We must teach only the most general features of these movements, unless we take the time to study one campaign or battle in detail, thus to acquire full knowledge upon which a reasonable judgment can be based.

47. Study by Campaigns.—Every war, then, should be analyzed into campaigns, and these should be studied as units. For the Revolution we have the following analysis:

(1) The campaign around Boston, 1775-1776.

(2) The campaign around New York and across New Jersey, ending after the Battle of Princeton, 1776-1777.

(3) Burgoyne's campaign, 1777.

(4) Howe's capture of Philadelphia and his subsequent evacuation of that city, 1777-1778.

(5) Campaigns in the South, 1779-1780.

(6) The Yorktown campaign, 1781.

Minor movements and events of the war may be inserted in the proper places.

In every campaign there are three phases: (1) the reasons for it, (2) the movements of troops and (3) the results. Unless these three elements are covered, the study is apt to be loose and pointless. The second element is always capable of analysis. For instance, the movements involved in the campaign of 1776 around New York are as follows: (1) Washington fortifies New York; (2) the British advance from Staten Island to Long Island and attack his fortifications; (3) because of the success of this movement Washington retreats to New York and northward; (4) the British follow; (5) the Battle of White Plains is fought and Washington retreats across the Hudson; (6) Forts Washington and Lee are seized and Washington retreats across New Jersey; (7) this retreat is checked by the crossing of the Delaware River; (8) the Battle of Trenton is fought; (9) Washington's army marches around that of Cornwallis and fights the Battle of Princeton; (10) the British forces return to the vicinity of New York, while Washington is stationed at Morristown; there the campaign ends.

Pursuing this method, we get the gist of the matter; details are suppressed for the time in order that the essentials may stand out prominently.

48. Aids to Study.—It is needless to say that the successful study of military movements without the constant use of maps is an impossibility; but this topic furnishes

the subject matter of the next chapter—the relation of geography to history. The study of wars may be enlivened and made realistic by the use of pictures in abundance. The gathering of historical relics is also a valuable aid. Now that the Civil War is receding so far into the past and the ranks of its participants are thinning so rapidly, every schoolhouse should become a center for the collection and preservation of articles that help to tell its story. Thus may we make the war something more than a lesson in the text-book.

XI. Relating History to Geography

49. Failures in History.—There are three classes of students whose lack of attainment attests the absolute failure of the instruction under which they pass their school years. These are the students who know how to add, but cannot get the right answer; the students who know the rules of grammar but cannot speak correct English, and the students who know that an event happened but cannot tell where it occurred. Unfortunately, the failure in the last instance is not usually regarded as serious; for there is no phase of history that is so much neglected as its geographical setting. This is true in spite of the fact that every event happens at some precise spot on earth and that frequently the location is the most significant feature of the occurrence.

This inefficient teaching of American history without placing events in their geographical setting contributes

no small part to the vagueness and unreality of the subject in pupils' minds. It goes far to explain their failure to grasp the facts of history and their lack of interest in the study. Students whose knowledge has this stamp of inexactitude and unreality deserve the condemnation placed upon them by men in the world of business; they are unpractical.

50. Remedies.—Several simple rules persistently obeyed will go far towards remedying the condition here complained of:

(1) A map should hang before the class during every recitation.

(2) Without exception pupils should be required to step to the map and point out every important place under discussion. No pupil should be allowed to recite upon an event of whose location he is ignorant.

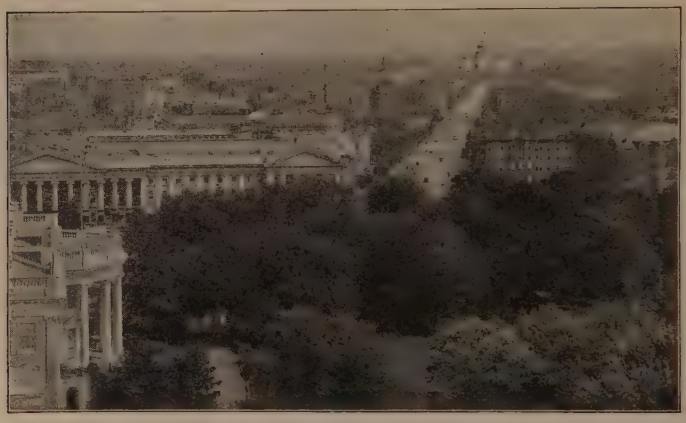
(3) Pupils should draw maps or fill outline maps frequently.

While the wall map is indispensable, much more satisfactory for actual use before the class is the sketch map drawn by the teacher on the black-board. The advantages of the latter are as follows: (1) In the sketch map are shown only the main geographical features, all details that confuse or blur the pupil's impression being omitted. (2) On this map the teacher can mark each place as the discussion proceeds; thus the event becomes firmly attached to its geographical setting. (3) The progress of events is seen in the growth of the map. Review is

also facilitated by the continued presence of the maps that have been developed in recitation.

51. The Influence of Geographical Conditions.—The influence of geographical conditions in determining the course of our history is receiving tardy recognition. Here opens up a delightful field for investigation and discussion. In a previous chapter reference was made to the fact that the physical geography of Virginia accounted for the character of its industry in colonial times and that this in turn fixed the type of social and political life prevalent there. Another group of physical causes was working in New England. Here we find a region where population settled in towns and upon small farms. Physical geography accounts for this, mainly. Again, a comparison of the life that grew up in New France with that which prevailed in the English colonies will make evident the fact that geographical causes were most prominent factors in determining the widely different types of life and industry in the two regions. The mountain barrier retarded westward progress for one nationality, while an interminable network of lakes, rivers, and streams offered to the other a tempting invitation to search its farthest reaches. Again, that most important event of our early national history, the purchase of Louisiana, so often regarded as purely diplomatic in character, was in reality determined by facts of physical geography. The Mississippi River offered the only practicable outlet for the products of the Western settlers; for the moun-

tain roads connecting them with the East were so difficult that no profit could result from shipments made in that direction. Unless the national government would assist them in their difficulty, the Westerners were prepared to take matters into their own hands, to conquer control of the Mississippi and, if necessary in accomplishing their



THE CITY OF WASHINGTON
A general view, looking from the White House down Pennsylvania Avenue toward the Capitol.

ends, to cut the bonds that united them to the East. The problem, then, was nothing less than the preservation of the integrity of the Union by the acquisition of an adequate outlet by nature's western waterway.

The influence of geography in determining the campaigns of the Civil War receives less attention than it deserves. Why did the Northern armies succeed so much more fully in accomplishing their purposes in the West than in the East? This was largely a matter of physi-

cal geography. Examine the map and see how in the West, the course of three great rivers, the Mississippi, the Cumberland and the Tennessee, at those portions of their courses lying near the border of the Confederacy, is north and south. Nature thus provided three waterways leading into the interior of the Confederacy. And we must understand that the progress of an army with its supplies and equipment is much more easy by water than by land. The Ohio River, too, furnished a natural water front, rendering possible the construction of a river naval force and making easier the defense of the Northern states. In the East, on the other hand, the conditions were quite the reverse. South of the Potomac, Virginia is traversed by numerous rivers, all of which run east. Each one, then, offers a barrier to the southward progress of an invading army. The Shenandoah River and the valley inclosing it, an apparent exception to the rule, could not be utilized in attacks upon Richmond, for its trend is southwestward, leading away from the destination of the Northern army. On the other hand, this sheltered passageway offered a convenient route by which the Confederate armies made their invasions into Northern territory. These two great geographical features of the Eastern seat of war account for all the great movements made therein, for the Peninsular campaign, for the terrible difficulties faced by Hooker, Pope and Grant and for the routes taken by Lee on his Northern invasions.

XII. Correlating History and Civil Government

52. Progress toward National Government.—No institution can be understood in its fullest sense until its origin and growth have been traced. There are many of our political institutions whose history we cannot trace in the common schools; such are the jury system, our systems of taxation and the principle of representative government. The roots of these and many other parts of our system lie deeply buried in the history of other countries. But some features of our local governments and the main features of our national government may be traced as they were developed on American soil.

In a previous chapter (Section 13) there was presented an outline of the principal events that indicated progress towards union and a national government. The story of these events impresses upon us the gradualness of this progress; while from the study of the spirit prevalent among the people of these times we shall learn with what struggles each step was accomplished. These fundamental facts in the history of our national government stand forth prominently, assisting us to appreciate the labors and difficulties involved in the process of nationalization that seemed to be complete when the Constitution was framed and put into operation. But we should be greatly mistaken to stop here in our study of the way in which a really national sentiment came to prevail among the people of the United States; for many

of the topics in our subsequent history turn upon this point.

To understand the difficulties encountered before a truly national government could be established, is to take the first step towards grasping the fundamental principle of our entire governmental system, namely, that the people of the states possessed originally all the powers of government, and that they have surrendered some of these to the national government, which exercises only such powers as are delegated to it (see Amendment X of the Constitution). It is difficult to explain our system without some consideration of its history, and it is impossible to appreciate it fully unless this history is brought into close association with the actual provisions of the Constitution. The discussion of this body of facts, then, should find a place in both history and civil government classes. Its importance warrants this repetition.

53. Topics for Elementary Classes. — Not alone the origin of our national government, but also many of its existing features may be explained historically in elementary classes. Why do we have a Senate as one branch of Congress? Why have all the states equal representation in the Senate? Why was the present method of electing the president by a system of electors established?

54. Introducing the Study of the Constitution.—The history class furnishes numerous topics whose understanding may serve as introductory to a study of the Constitution. When the national government first exercises

its power of taxation the appropriate clause of the Constitution should be examined. When Jay's treaty is made, the process furnishes exemplification of the Constitutional provision respecting treaties. The election of 1800 can only be understood after a study of the original provision describing this process. Here, too, we find the proper place to study the Twelfth Amendment of the Constitution. The abstract idea of "loose and strict construction" is one of the bugbears to students in civil government. Dissociated from the concrete cases that arise in our early history—such topics as the bank question and the purchase of Louisiana—this subject is impossible of comprehension. Again, how many history classes have been required to learn that the last three amendments were enacted as a result of the Civil War, without attempting to comprehend, or even to read, the provisions of these amendments? On the other hand, how many classes in civil government have struggled over the provisions of these amendments without a review of their history as an aid to their understanding?

55. Economy and Value of Correlation.—Now, the correlation of history and civil government in such topics is not only reasonable, but economical as well. For that is true economy in the work of teaching which tends toward the unification of knowledge into a consistent whole. So many of our common school branches seem to be disconnected, and so much of our pupils' information is scattered and fragmentary, that we cannot afford

to neglect this opportunity to bridge the artificial gap that the curriculum places between these two subjects.

56. The Real Fruit of Historical Study.—A writer has said, "History without political science has no fruit. Political science without history has no root." While the lines of this couplet are equally true, the first especially needs emphasis in our common schools. There is today a marked tendency in education which, when fully realized, will do much to establish closer relations between our studies and the facts of every day life. History then will cease to yield merely an isolated body of knowledge. Its terms will be understood because the social and political facts of today are used as the key to their interpretation; what the child may see and experience will assist him in comprehending the events of history. Again, our history will throw light upon the political conditions and events of today when the qualifications required of teachers include a vital interest in the current news of the world. And, finally, history, instead of supplying merely a fund of information, will supply also an impetus toward right social and political action. The fruit of historical study should be good citizenship. Pupils should find in the teacher their example and should receive in the history class an impulse to discharge faithfully their obligations towards the country whose sacrifices have enabled them to receive the education furnished by the common schools.

XIII. The Preparation of the Teacher

57. The Necessity for Scholarship. — Recent educational tendencies, seen in the expansion of courses of study and the multiplication of books and libraries, are accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the preparation of teachers. In the field of history this means that the teacher is also a student, working with his class for a fuller knowledge of historical facts and a firmer grasp of their true relations. By contact with works of reference he constantly adds to his stock of interesting details and constantly tests the soundness of his generalizations.

58. The Study of Methods.—The best methods of teaching history are but the application of the most approved principles of general pedagogy. So numerous and varied are the ways in which these principles may be applied in teaching history that each teacher must select the methods that are best adapted to his own situation. This becomes, then, another field of study, parallel to the study of the subject matter and closely related to it.

59. Some Books on Methods.—For the teacher's guidance there are several suggestive works on history methods. Hinsdale's *How to Study and Teach History* covers the European as well as the American field. It shows the significance of certain periods and phases of history, rather than methods and devices. Mace's *Method in History* is abstract and philosophical in some of its chapters, but it organizes the periods of American history in a very suggestive manner.

McMurry's *Special Method in History* is a helpful book for teachers of elementary classes. It presents a plan for a history course and suggests reference books for each of the eight grades. The *Report of the Committee of Seven on the Teaching of History in Secondary Schools* discusses the organization and treatment of history courses (both European and American) in high schools. Channing and Hart's *Guide to the Study of American History* is also intended for the use of high school teachers and students and will greatly assist the student who works without the direct guidance of the teacher.

NOTE.—This brief treatise upon *Methods in History* is intended particularly for the use of teachers in ungraded schools and in the upper grades of those elementary schools whose courses have not been enriched by the development of historical topics in the first six grades. It is not meant that different principles apply to history teaching under different circumstances, but the statement made above may explain some of the assumptions upon which the chapters have been written. Psychological explanations and technical language have been carefully avoided. The author has endeavored to state in as simple form as possible, with ample illustrations, some of the fundamental principles of history teaching that should be observed by every teacher, in whatever grade he may work.

A. H. S.

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